HUMAN EVENTS

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LBJ and Viet Nam

Are Negotiations a Mistake?

Lyndon Johnson could go down in history as the Winston Churchill of the 1960s, but diplomatic observers think the rising pressures on the President to cave in to Ho Chi Minh make it much more likely that LBJ will be compared with Neville Chamberlain.

It is widely believed that Johnson would like to cap his career by bringing peace to a war-weary Viet Nam, and he is well aware if he doesn't reach a satisfactory agreement with the Communists now he will again be faced with fresh abuse from America's left-wing apparatus and renewed verbal assaults from the Kennedy-Fulbright-McCarthy appeasement claque in the Democratic party. If the Viet Nam war goes unresolved while he's in office, LBJ fears history may write him off as a total failure.

The President will not only be under major psychological pressures to grant concessions to the Communists, but some of his advisers will undoubtedly attempt to steer him into a dovish position.

The two chief negotiaters LBJ has lined up for dealing with Hanoi are considered by Diplomatic Row to be very "flexible" where talking with the Communists is concerned. The two are Ambassador to Moscow Llewellyn E. Thompson and Ambassador-at-Large W. Averell Harriman. Harriman has been the architect of a number of Soviet-accommodating agreements, including the 1962 Laotian pact which Secretary of State Dean Rusk has called an abysmal failure.

There is much speculation in Washington that if talks result, the United States will be willing to go Moscow to negotiate with the North Vietnamese Communists.

Why do the Reds now appear willing to talk? By suggesting they will negotiate, it is contended, the Communists have helped to nullify the propaganda barrel LBJ had put them over with his headline-catching TV address announcing a partial bombing pause and his decision to retire. The Communists, say the experts, may also believe that LBJ's Shermanesque statement about not running reveals he is tired of the Viet Nam war and may be quite willing to give the Reds what they want.

Judging from sources close to top Vietnamese Communists, the Reds appear willing to settle, in the first phase, for some kind of political role in the south that would eventually lead to control of the country.

Diplomatic and military observers caution everyone not to have high hopes that there will be a quick end to the war now that talks may begin. Hanoi, it is pointed out, has not even agreed to peace talks as such.

All that Hanoi has publicly proposed in response to LBJ's partial bomb pause is that the United States make new concessions as a prelude to discussions. It offered to take up "the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war" against North Viet Nam "so that talks may start."

Retired Gen. Mark W. Clark, who signed the 1953 armistice in Korea as leader of the United Nations Command, says the present period involving Viet Nam is laden with dangerous pitfalls. In a telephone interview with *Human Events*, Gen. Clark said the United States was not in a particularly strong position, since we hadn't won the war on the battlefield. He also stressed that we are not in nearly as strong a position militarily as we were when talks took place in Korea.

The Communists, he noted, will try to take advantage of the peace talks to fortify their war-making machinery. A clue to the possible tactics they will follow is found in a captured enemy document concerning Communist negotiation strategy.

Maj. Gen. Nguyen Van Vinh, 50-year-old chairman of Hanoi's "national reunification commission," is quoted as saying: "In fighting while negotiating, the side which fights more strongly will compel the adversary to accept its conditions."

Vinh continued: "We will take advantage of the opportunity offered by the negotiations to step up further our military attacks, political struggle and military proselytizing. . . . Those in charge of fighting continue fighting, because the decisive factor lies in the battlefield."

Neither armistice talks nor an actual armistice will probably bring true peace. Korean armistice talks began July 10, 1951. After that date:

• 20,620 Americans were killed in battle—nearly twice the number killed before the talks started.

• Dollar costs of the Korean War rose sharply during the talking period. The greater part of $18 billion spent on this war by the United States was expended after talks started.

• The Korean truce was signed at Panmunjom on July 27, 1953. Fourteen and a half years afterwards:

Highlighting one of the most hectic weeks in recent political history, President Johnson announced to reporters he would fly to Honolulu to set the groundwork for possible talks with North Viet Nam.

• There is no peace treaty in effect. Large-scale hostilities remain suspended, but genuine peace and a unified Korea is remote.

• Two American divisions—some 50,000 men—remain on guard against another Communist invasion.

• North Koreans, Red Chinese and Russians continue to violate the armistice with a military build-up in the north, harassment along the border and subversion in South Korea.

How can LBJ prevent the Reds from winning the negotiations? Anti-Communist diplomats are telling LBJ this: If he truly wants to win an honorable settlement, he should follow the advice of Adm. C. Turner Joy, who was chief United Nations Command delegate at the Korean armistice negotiations.

Adm. Joy said the armistice in Korea taught us this:

"Never weaken your pressure when the enemy sues for armistice. Increase it. In June 1951, the Communist forces were falling back steadily, suffering grievously. Then Jacob Malik issued his truce feeler. As soon as armistice discussions began, United Nations Command ground forces slackened their offensive operations. Instead, offensive pressure by all arms should have been increased to the maximum during the armistice talks.

"Force is a decisive factor, the only logic the Communists truly understand.

"It has been argued that to endure the casualties which result from offensive operations while an armistice was potentially around the country would have been an unacceptable policy. Yet, I feel certain the casualties the United Nations Command endured during the two long years of negotiations far exceed any that might have been expected from an offensive in the summer of 1951.

"The lesson is: Do not stop fighting until hostilities have ended, not if you want an armistice with the Communists on acceptable terms within a reasonable period of time."

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NEWSPAPER

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Can Bobby Kennedy survive Victor Lasky? Lasky, whose "JFK: The Man and the Myth" became a best seller, has written a sharply critical study of Bobby to be published by Trident, a subsidiary of Simon & Schuster. The title—**Bobby Kennedy: The Man and the Myth**. Lasky's blockbuster is expected to hit the bookstores in late June.

● A leading American Negro, nationally known for his activity in civil rights organizations, has told Human Events that Bobby Kennedy is a **self-seeking opportunist** and a shrewd demagogue who has been catering to wild-eyed fanatics of the Negro race. He believes a sizeable number of Negroes are not in favor of Bobby. He points out, moreover, that Bobby has no Negro on his staff that is in any high policy-making position.

● Rep. Bradford Morse (R.-Mass.), leader of the liberal Republican "Wednesday Club," is spearheading a drive in the House to get favorable action on the **open housing legislation** already passed by the Senate. Among the other leaders: Representatives Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) and Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), both of whom have been urging Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to get into the race against Richard Nixon.

● There is still some hope that the United States won't sell out on the Vietnamese question. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told a Ministerial Council of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization last week that neither a **coalition government nor neutralization** is a proper solution for Viet Nam. Rusk again blasted the Laotian agreement in 1962 as a failure.

● LBJ says he's not seeking re-election because of the disunity he has aroused in the country as a result of his policy in Viet Nam. Part of that disunity, however, has been artificially fostered by the Communists. Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin has issued a report that a handful of **Red agitators** played a key role in turning some 16,000 anti-war demonstrators into a rock-throwing, violence-prone mob last June 23 outside the Century Plaza Hotel where LBJ was speaking to a Democratic gathering.

● An interesting sidelight to that occasion: All the material—books, newspapers, pamphlets and magazines—found near the riot scene had been printed in **North Viet Nam** and channeled into Los Angeles through Communist Poland.

● Prominent Eastern European exiles in Washington say that the upheaval in the **Communist satellites**, particularly in Czechoslovakia, contains great hope for the West. These exiles, however, say the one thing the United States should not do to encourage the unrest is to step up vital trade with the regimes in power. In their view, this will only strengthen the hand of the old-line Communists. They point out that when Poland went through a near-revolution in 1956, the United States rushed in to "woo" the new government away from Moscow. The Polish government, however, used our aid to quiet rebellion, strengthen its hold over the people and become one of the strongest "pro-Moscow" regimes in Eastern Europe.

● Obviously aiming his remarks at such American liberals as Senators Kennedy, McCarthy and Fulbright, Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman recently lashed out at the "prophets of false liberalism who are, unfortunately, always liberal with **other people's liberty**" and who assert that Asian communism is no menace to its neighbors.

● Hoping GOP liberals will shift from Rocky, New York Mayor John Lindsay has begun a **personal campaign** to project himself onto the national political scene. The mayor has rejected advice of enthusiastic friends who want him to openly seek the presidential nomination, but he has begun to "speak out on the issues" to students across the country.

● FBI agents are looking into the possibility that the dynamiting of an Armed Forces Induction Center in lower Manhattan last week may be linked to a pamphlet called **"Blueprints for Sabotage."** The pamphlet, printed in Toronto, Canada, gives instructions to anti-war groups on how to bomb induction centers and draft boards, with detailed information on preparing Molotov cocktails. Government agents say the pamphlet was prepared by American leftists. (See Human Events, March 16, page 4.)

● Indefatigable H.R. Gross has written Postmaster General Larry O'Brien demanding to know why the firm of **McCloskey & Co.** was awarded a $7-million contract for a new post office in Des Moines, Iowa. The Iowa lawmaker notes that the firm was headed until recently by Matthew McCloskey, controversial Democratic fund-raiser and pal of Bobby Baker. Gross also noted that the Justice Department currently has a $5-million suit pending against McCloskey & Co. for alleged defects in construction of a Veterans Hospital in Boston.

● The cynicism of Bobby Kennedy was demonstrated anew last week by a UPI report from New Orleans. Sources close to Louisiana Gov. John McKeithen reported that the "idealistic" Bobby had offered McKeithen the **vice presidential nomination** in return for his pre-convention support. McKeithen is a down-the-line segregationist who has lauded George Wallace.

● Overlooked in the quick-moving political news of the past weeks: **District of Columbia Republicans** plan to send their nine-member delegation to the GOP national convention split six for Nixon and three for Rockefeller (or a Rocky-type candidate). District Republicans have long been considered a liberal fiefdom; the 1964 delegates split 5 to 4 in favor of Scranton over Goldwater (after the Arizonan had wrapped the nomination up on the first ballot). But this year strong conservative influences coupled with the disarray in the liberal GOP camp have apparently tipped the scales to Nixon.

● The **Emergency Civil Liberties Committee**, a cited Communist front, has launched a "militant, nationwide campaign" to defend draft-dodgers and other "war resisters." Hired as the ECLC's new director: Henry di Suvero, outspoken "civil libertarian" who has been active in anti-police work in Newark.

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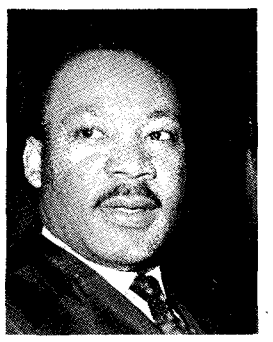
Martin Luther King

The senseless slaughter of Dr. Martin Luther King last week will make much more difficult the long-term cooperation that is needed between men of good will of all races. In the short run, it unleashed a wave of black racism within the United States. Negroes poured into the streets from Harlem to the California coast, looting and battling police with guns, rocks and arrows. Stores were sacked and burned and many people were killed or injured.



KING

In a way it may seem odd that King's death has produced so much cruelty and destruction, for King, himself, professed to be an apostle of non-violence. But, unfortunately, the irony exists only if one tends to overlook the basically explosive nature of his doctrine and the methods he used to stimulate public action.

In focusing on genuine Negro grievances, Dr. King employed a radical and controversial technique which has sadly resulted in the violence he so verbally deplored. He believed in civil disobedience, breaking what he called "unjust laws," stirring mobs to march and to demonstrate. Just before his death he had talked of deliberately violating a federal injunction against his Memphis march.

Dr. King loved the "shock" technique. For the latter part of April he had planned a "Poor People's March" on Washington which he said would continue until Congress voted the "poor" some $20 billion a year. He had hoped to get several hundred thousand people into Washington and would "escalate" the protests until something was done. He even threatened to tie up bridges and traffic with human barricades. NAACP leader Roy Wilkins told King his march was dangerous, but King refused to call it off.

King called these techniques "non-violent" but, in fact, they were provocative in the extreme and violence seemed to follow him almost everywhere he went.

In carrying out his activities in recent years, moreover, King—whether by choice or by the pressures of the times—worked and consulted with those who preach violence. He had allied himself with Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown and he relied on aid from radicals and Communists.

None of this in any way justifies his cruel death, of course, and King, himself, undoubtedly resorted to militant actions because of his deep feelings for the poor. Yet as harsh as it sounds his provocative techniques, coupled with his belief that we have a right to defy "unjust" laws, have helped to engender a climate of lawlessness in the land, a climate which encourages the violence sweeping the country today. This violence helps neither black nor white.

If any good is to come out of the heinous crime of King's assassination, perhaps it will be the realization that selective civil disobedience for the purpose of achieving narrow goals is not the answer to the problems of America.

Carmichael's Riots

Demagogue Stokely Carmichael, the pro-Castro revolutionary who has threatened assassination of LBJ, has been a chief beneficiary of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. Many followers of the Nobel Peace Prize winner are now turning to Carmichael and other militants for leadership.

CARMICHAEL

Stokely is wooing them over with this line of reasoning: King's brand of "non-violence" failed and resulted in King's death. Negroes can only win their "rights" if they resort to brutal measures against the white man.

Calling a press conference in Washington last week, Carmichael sounded the tocsin for a racial insurrection. He declared the assassination of King was an act of war against the Negro people by "White America" and spoke of "retaliation in the streets." "We have to retaliate for the execution of Dr. King," he maintained. "Our retaliation won't be in the courtroom but in the streets of America."

"When White America killed Dr. King," Carmichael exclaimed, "it declared war on us. Black people know that their way is not by intellectual discussions. They know they have to get guns. . . . I don't think there's an alternative to retribution."

Flanked by several Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee officials, including Lester McKinney, head of Washington SNCC, Carmichael called for the release of another pro-Communist revolutionary: H. Rap Brown, SNCC's current chairman. Brown has been in jail on federal charges for more than a month. Carmichael warned that if Brown was not released by Gov. Spiro Agnew of Maryland before his trial, "we'll take trips back to Maryland to turn that state upside down."

Carmichael, however, has done more than preach. The night prior to these inflammatory statements, Carmichael led a band of Negro youths through Washington's Cardozo area ordering store owners to close their shops out of "respect" for King. The Carmichael-led mob later exploded into rioting and looting and began the systematic wrecking of white-owned stores.

Serious fires broke out in the vicinity and by early Friday morning it was learned that one white man had been beaten and stabbed to death by a Negro mob. A UPI reporter was also beaten, kicked and robbed. At the height of the disturbance, police used canister after canister of tear gas to clear taunting Negroes from the scene of an apartment house fire. Fifty-five persons were injured, 179 persons were arrested. Carmichael, however, was left alone.

All day Friday the looting in Washington continued, pedestrians were jumped on the streets and fires were set off downtown. Smoke from these blazes could be seen from the windows of *Human Events*. Police cruised the streets with soundtrucks telling all people to go home. All members of the D.C. National Guard were activated late Friday afternoon, President Johnson cancelled his trip to Hawaii and the city prepared for a bad weekend.

According to news accounts, Carmichael's campaign against the stores began Thursday night shortly after King's assassination when he burst into the local Washington SNCC headquarters and declared, "If Kennedy had died, all these stores would have been closed. Martin Luther King is our leader and we are going to show him some respect."

As the small band began shouting its demands to store owners along the way, the number of people joining the Carmichael group began to swell. Soon those "honoring" King were breaking into stores and looting.

"If you don't have a gun, go home," Carmichael was quoted as shouting to a group of Negro youths. "When the white man comes, he is coming to kill you," Carmichael yelled. "I don't want any black blood in the street. Go home and get you a gun and then come back because I got me a gun."

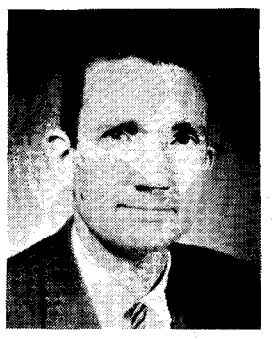
At this point Carmichael brandished a small revolver. As he did so, a slight Negro youth, perhaps 15 years old, fired two shots into the air from a pearl-handled pistol. The reports startled the crowd into silence, but Carmichael remarked: "Don't shoot unless everybody's got their gun."

In the crowd there were cries of "I got my gun—you got your gun?" Suddenly, three Negro policemen pulled up in a car in front of the crowd and jumped to the curb with revolvers drawn. With his hands raised, Carmichael approached them and protested their appearance. As a crowd gathered, the policemen returned to their car and drove away—and the looting and the mayhem continued.

Such are the radical methods of Stokely Carmichael, who hopes to achieve new power in the Negro community through the destructive exploitation of Dr. King's death.

Clark Won't Act

As violence shook Washington last week, a number of people asked why Stokely Carmichael had not been put in jail. Stokely, it is claimed by legal experts, has violated both federal and local laws and the Common Law, but he mysteriously manages to elude prison and sow his doctrine of direct violence and revolution through the country.



CLARK

There is a strong belief that Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark is behind the decision not to be "tough on Stokely." Clark not only controls the actions of the Justice Department, but he has a strong influence over the local D.C. government.

Clark, according to a number of reports, has always been opposed to prosecuting Stokely because he thinks this would make a "martyr" out of him. Clark, it is recalled, refused to take action against Stokely last year, even after he had threatened to kill LBJ at a guerrilla warfare conference in Cuba.

Former Supreme Court Justice Charles Whittaker has told *Human Events* that he feels there is ample evidence to show that Stokely has violated federal law, but as of Friday afternoon LBJ's man in the Justice Department had refused to lift a finger against him.

$6-Billion Spending Cut

Thanks to the efforts of Senators John Williams (R.-Del.) and George Smathers (D.-Fla.), President Johnson will likely get the 10 per cent surtax hike he first requested last summer, but coupled with a $6-billion reduction in federal spending in fiscal 1969. The Senate last week passed a rider to an excise tax bill which incorporated these two economic features; the vote was a convincing 53 to 35 in favor of fiscal responsibility.

None of this came about, however, with any help from the Administration. Although LBJ had pleaded for the tax hike and had occasionally chided Congress for not cutting spending, White House lobbyists had opposed the Smathers-Williams package on the grounds the cuts were "unworkable and too drastic."

Aroused over this paradoxical opposition, Williams took the floor of the Senate before the final vote on his proposal to say, "I believe the Administration would do well to be on notice and should have a clear understanding . . . that they will not get their tax increase bill unless it is accompanied by a bona fide, realistic and firm control over spending."

Shortly thereafter the Senate overwhelmingly accepted the Williams-Smathers measure reducing LBJ's fiscal '69 budget to $180.1 billion and levying the 10 per cent tax. Now that the Senate has indicated its approval of fiscal austerity, conservatives hope the House Ways and Means Committee and its chairman Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) will take the cue and pass a similar bill in the lower chamber.

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Following is the 53-to-35 rollcall vote by which the Senate on April 2 adopted the Williams-Smathers excise tax bill amendment to provide for a 10 per cent income tax surcharge along with a $6 billion cut in Administration spending.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 53

DEMOCRATS (22): Byrd (Va.), Dodd, Eastland, Ervin, Gore, Holland, Inouye, Jackson, Mansfield, McClellan, McIntyre, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Pell, Randolph, Russell, Smathers, Spong, Stennis, Symington and Tydings.

REPUBLICANS (31): Aiken, Allott, Boggs, Brooke, Carlson, Case, Cooper, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Griffin, Hansen, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Javits, Jordan (Idaho), Kuchel, Miller, Morton, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Percy, Prouty, Scott, Smith, Thurmond, Tower and Williams (Del.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 35

DEMOCRATS (32): Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Bible, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Clark, Ellender, Fulbright, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Hill, Hollings, Kennedy (Mass.), Long (La.), Magnuson, McGee, McGovern, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Morse, Nelson, Proxmire, Ribicoff, Talmadge, Williams (N.J.) and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (3): Cotton, Hatfield and Young (N.D.).

Paired for the amendment: Pastore and Lausche (Democrats).
Paired against the amendment: Kennedy (N.Y.) and Gruening (Democrats).

Announced for the amendment: Baker and Bennett (Republicans).
Announced against the amendment: Church (D).

New Security Case

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, which is probing security procedures at the Department of Defense (*Human Events*, last week, page 3), will want to examine the incredible case of Richard Henry, a civilian employe at the Army's Tank-Automotive Command outside Detroit.

Henry, who holds a Pentagon security clearance, is a virulent black nationalist who only last week was the driving force behind the formation of a "separate black nation" within the United States.

Henry, who prefers his "Swahili" name of Brother Imari, summoned to Detroit 50 top black nationalists —including Ron Karenga of Los Angeles and Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X. These "delegates" proclaimed the existence of an "independent black nation," announced plans to "annex" six Southern states, and elected leaders.

Robert Franklin Williams, a fire-breathing advocate of racial violence, was named "president." Williams is currently in Red China. H. Rap Brown, now awaiting trial on a variety of charges, was named Minister of Defense. But Henry, who prefers to remain in the background, is seen by security officials as the group's guiding light.

How Henry managed to secure—then keep—a Pentagon security clearance is a matter of grave concern. For his revolutionary activities have been well known for many years.

Henry, the author of a book on racial warfare, has repeatedly denounced the U.S. government—his employer—in seditious terms. His affiliations with "Burn, Baby Burn!" proponents from Rob Williams to Rap Brown to Stokely Carmichael have been a matter of record for some time.

Only last week, Henry appeared to renounce his citizenship, announcing, "I am not an American." Nevertheless, he retains his security clearance. How?

Withdrawal Announcement LBJ's Greatest Mistake?

Lyndon Johnson's breathtaking declaration that he would neither "seek" nor "accept" the nomination of his party for another term as President may yet turn out to be the worst mistake he has made since he assumed office in November 1963.

This judgment, we realize, is not the judgment held by most of the country, especially in light of Hanoi's subsequent apparent willingness to talk peace. Indeed, the President, who had been under a relentless and withering crossfire from both Republicans and dovish Democrats, has suddenly been hailed as a hero, as a man willing to put country above personal ambition. But we find it difficult to agree with such a romantic interpretation of events.

There seems little question that LBJ desired to get out from under crushing burdens and massive abuse, but his withdrawal from the presidential race should not be considered the Glorious Act of 1968.

Let us be blunt. Mr. Johnson did not forsake the nomination, as he suggests, for the sole purpose of uniting the country. LBJ renounced the presidency after a series of events extremely embarrassing to the Administration, including the Tet offensive by the Viet Cong, the gold crisis, his near defeat in the New Hampshire primary by a once obscure Minnesota senator, the blitzkrieg operations of Bobby Kennedy and a drastic drop in his popularity at the polls.

In short, he abdicated his ambitions when he was convinced that even if he were renominated he might suffer a disastrous defeat as the candidate of a party that had been torn asunder.

In the rush to praise LBJ, it should not be forgotten that his unpopularity has been richly deserved —and is of his own making. The U.S. dollar troubles stem largely from the fact that Johnson has insisted that we can have guns and butter simultaneously, that we can afford, while in the midst of a full-blown war, to lavish funds on a plethora of domestic boondoggles—even while the fiscal deficit soars to $20 billion or more per year.

The Administration has sought to blame the draining of our gold reserves on speculators. But how else did our government expect foreign creditors to react as they watched LBJ—in the face of mounting deficits and a war crisis—unveil a dizzying array of extravagant domestic spending schemes before the Congress?

The riots that ravage our cities have sprung from a variety of causes, not the least of which are frustrations aroused by the President's wildly exaggerated promises of what his "Great Society" will do for the poor. The urban upheavals have been further stimulated by the Administration's continued willingness to be blackmailed by threats of violent demonstrations and the creation of a sprawling anti-poverty program which harbors black and white revolutionaries bent on fanning racial discord throughout the country.

But it is the President's policy toward Viet Nam that has drawn the most stinging criticism. Much of this has been triggered by Communists and leftist agitators, but the rising tide of opposition to the war cannot be traced wholly to this ugly element. The opposition has intensified as it became increasingly clear that the Administration had no policy for bringing the conflict to a successful close.

The U.S. government has pointedly refused to press for a victory. We have permitted North Viet Nam to receive regular transfusions of food and supplies through Haiphong harbor. We have allowed the enemy to prepare, unhampered, fresh offensives against South Viet Nam from privileged sanctuaries in Cambodia and North Viet Nam. We encourage trade with the Soviet Union, which, in turn, ships vital war material to Hanoi. We have even failed to equip the South Vietnamese army with weapons that have the same firepower as the Viet Cong.

We have, it would seem, done everything to ensure the survival of the Communist government of Hanoi while Hanoi has been determined to liquidate the freely elected government in Saigon.

Surely neither friend nor foe has been persuaded by the efficacy of such a policy!

Yet despite these failures—and we think they have been massive in proportion—we believe LBJ was wrong in renouncing further presidential ambitions. For in so doing he has bolstered the Kennedy-dove faction in the Democratic party and imperiled some important Administration foreign policy successes, few though they may be.

During his term in office, the President has helped to partially reverse the catastrophic course of the Kennedy Administration in certain areas abroad. He wisely altered JFK's strategy vis-a-vis the Congo and LBJ's bold moves in 1965 almost certainly prevented the Dominican Republic from becoming another Cuba.

He has quietly, if not thoroughly, eliminated from the State Department and the Pentagon some of the wild-eyed radicals that John Kennedy brought in to spice up his Administration. Such far-out proponents of unilateral disarmament as Jerome Wiesner—a favorite of the Kennedys—has departed. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Carl Kaysen and Adam Yarmolinsky have left, as have other members of the Kennedy appeasement claque.

And as far as the most crucial area—Southeast Asia—is concerned, Johnson's initial policy of bolstering South Viet Nam, no matter how ineptly carried out that policy may be at the present time, unquestionably inspired the anti-Communist elements in Indonesia to throw off the Red yoke and has bought time for other free Asian countries.

But these accomplishments are now threatened by Johnson's dramatic quitting under fire. For by refusing to run again, he has immeasurably strengthened the possibility that the appeasement wing of the Democratic party, led by Bobby Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy, will capture the party machinery in Chicago and possibly the White House in November. And a victory for a dove would spell disaster for Viet Nam and all Southeast Asia.

Hanoi has already looked upon the move by LBJ as a sign of weakness. And the mere act of capitulation has sent a deep chill through our allies in the Far East.

Leaders in Korea, Thailand, Free China and South Viet Nam have been horrified to learn that the man who championed our presence in Viet Nam has suddenly decided to relinquish the reins of leadership. Reacting to the announcement, the 13th annual SEATO conference closed last week amid an "atmosphere of gloom and foreboding." The "handwriting is on the wall" for an American pullout, noted one Siagon expert.

Moreover, if serious negotiations develop out of Hanoi's recent communications, LBJ will have lost his whip hand. For it is not likely the enemy will agree to make concessions to a lame-duck leader. (For more on the perils of negotiating with the Communists, see front page.)

As the Chicago *Tribune* asked last week: "With London in flames under enemy air attack, did Churchill waver and walk away from the fight? In the dark hours of the Civil War, when Lincoln was reviled, when there were riots against the draft, when Gen. McClellan was preparing to challenge him for the presidency, did Lincoln ever think of abandoning his thankless task? Wars never could have been carried through to victory if the captain left the bridge.

"Either the war in Viet Nam is a valid cause, prosecuted for a good and defensible reason, or it is not. How can its validity be proved if the man who has defended it and said he would see to it that aggression would not pay suddenly throws in his cards? Can that have any result except to convince Ho Chi Minh that the stakes are there to be gathered in?"

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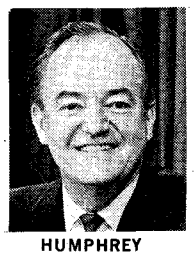
POLITICS '68

HUMPHREY

While declared candidates Kennedy and McCarthy scurried about the country seeking support for their presidential aspirations, Vice President Hubert Humphrey sat nervously assessing his own prospects for the Democratic nomination. By all accounts, Humphrey's role in the next few weeks will be one of **wait and see**, with his supporters urging others to remain uncommitted rather than hop aboard the Kennedy or McCarthy bandwagons.


HUMPHREY

In the wake of LBJ's decision not to run again, Humphrey immediately became the focal point of Democrats supporting the Administration. Such party loyalists as Texas Gov. **John Connally**, who will go to the convention as a "favorite son" candidate, and AFL-CIO President **George Meany**, offered Humphrey their support. (Reportedly, Meany did not make his offer until Humphrey had personally assured the labor boss he would run.)

Beyond these public endorsements, it is suspected that Humphrey would be able to draw strong support for a presidential bid from **Southern and Midwestern Democrats.** These party elements have supported the Administration and view both McCarthy and Kennedy as anathema.

Meanwhile, Humphrey will watch the Kennedy-McCarthy primary showdown unfold. The **two anti-Viet Nam candidates** will face each other on the ballot in Indiana (May 7), Nebraska (May 14), Oregon (May 28) and, finally, California (June 4). If the two candidates remain about even in strength, or if McCarthy should defeat his rival in any one of the primaries, it will be a plus for Humphrey.

(Humphrey will probably have nothing to do with the primary route. His 1960 bid for the nomination was halted when Jack Kennedy roundly defeated him in the Wisconsin and West Virginia primaries.)

Humphrey's hope is for a **three-way convention dogfight,** with the vice president holding the support of labor, loyalists and, behind the scenes, President Johnson. If this develops, Humphrey sees McCarthy throwing his support to his fellow Minnesotan rather than to Kennedy.

YR CONVENTION

Those who still hunger for a Nelson Rockefeller nomination were dealt a sharp setback recently at the New York State **Young Republican Constitutional Convention** in Queens County.

Rocky enthusiasts keep insisting that the governor is a better vote-getter among the youth than Richard Nixon. **Young Americans for Freedom**, however, took a poll of some 400 delegates who attended the convention and found Rocky sadly wanting among YRs even in his home state. **Nixon** received the backing of 50.4 per cent of the 211 conferees who responded, while Rocky gathered just 25.6 per cent of the vote. Another 18.2 per cent favored Gov. **Ronald Reagan** of California. Thus the conservative-to-moderate spectrum received the support of some 70 per cent of the Young Republican delegates who permitted themselves to be polled.

Gov. Reagan was the hands-down favorite for a **vice presidential nomination** with 41.9 per cent of the vote. Liberal Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), on the other hand, received only 22.9 per cent.

While the convention went on to endorse Rocky as the **"favorite-son" candidate**, the conferees probably preferred Nixon. The YRs attending the conclave insist the endorsement was a hoax. The delegates, they claim, actually wanted to put Rocky's favorite-son candidacy to a test, but the decision as to whether to support him or not was turned over to the **liberal-packed Board of Governors** comprising about one-sixth of the total number of delegates. The board then backed Rocky by a voice vote.

ROCKEFELLER

Though their logic is far from clear, supporters of Gov. Rockefeller believe that Bobby Kennedy's probable nomination by the Democrats in Chicago might encourage Rocky to "reassess" his non-candidacy role. Sen. **Thruston Morton** (R.-Ky.) is trying to steer the governor in this direction as are certain liberal businessmen, including **John Hay Whitney**, former ambassador to Great Britain, and **Walter N. Thayer**, president of Whitney Communications. Thayer has confirmed that he had been involved in conversations "with people around the country who are frustrated because they have no candidate," but denied that any draft-Rockefeller organization has been formed to date.

MORTON

"I would like to see such a group," he has said. A number of people, however, feel that the **Coalition for a Republican Alternative**, currently headed by Stewart R. Mott, a liberal Democrat, is already serving as a vehicle for a "Draft-Rocky" campaign.

WISCONSIN

No matter where you looked last week, you could find a **different interpretation** of the Wisconsin presidential primary outcome. The sudden dearth of candidates, the confusing question of "crossover" party voting and shifting attitudes on the Viet Nam situation all helped to cloud the picture.

About the only clear spot on the horizon was the smashing victory of **Richard Nixon** on the Republican ballot, with the former vice president racking up 80.3 per cent of the vote and capturing all of the state's 30 GOP convention delegates. Likewise, **Ronald Reagan's first appearance** on a primary ballot proved something of a dissappointment for his supporters, as the California governor attracted but 10.8 per cent of the vote despite a television campaign in his behalf. Reagan himself, of course, did not campaign in Wisconsin, which helps account for his relatively poor showing, but his backers had hoped grass-roots pressure for his nomination would swell the Reagan vote.

Others getting Republican votes were **Harold Stassen**, who was on the ballot and received 5.9 per cent, and write-ins **Nelson Rockefeller** (1.5 per cent) and Democrat **George Wallace** (.3 per cent). In a new addition to the Wisconsin primary ballot, voters could vote for "None of the names shown" (Nixon, Reagan, Stassen); only 1.2 per cent of the GOP voters pulled this lever.

Most of the confusion was on the **Democratic side** of the ballot, where Sen. Eugene McCarthy received 56.7 per cent of the vote and President Johnson 34.9 per cent. Despite McCarthy's impressive showing against an incumbent President, analysts had difficulty figuring out if it really was a major upset or not.

LBJ, they noted, had taken himself out of the race two days previously and McCarthy did poorly among **big-city low-income voters**; the Minnesota senator lost Milwaukee by a large margin, and thereby lost its eight convention delegate votes, while picking up 49 elsewhere in the state.

In McCarthy's favor is the fact that many expected a large **"sympathy" vote for Johnson** after his dramatic Sunday eve Viet Nam de-escalation and retirement announcement, but this apparently was not forthcoming. Also, many of the Republican voters McCarthy had expected to cross over, voting for him in expressing opposition to the Administration, decided to stay away after LBJ's surprise decision; even so, an estimated 20 per cent of McCarthy's vote came from **GOP crossovers.**

Elsewhere on the Democratic ballot, an important tally was Bobby Kennedy's **low write-in vote.** Although the late-starting candidate had urged his supporters to vote for McCarthy, his Wisconsin organizers had privately encouraged a write-in effort and Kennedy received 1.5 per cent of the Democratic vote through this procedure. Two other write-in candidates were Hubert Humphrey (.4 per cent) and Wallace (.5 per cent); 1.5 per cent of the Democratic voters chose the "None of the names shown" lever.

On the over-all question of voter approval of the Administration's Viet Nam policy, the **"hawk" vs. "dove"** contest, it is obvious the relatively hawkish candidates came out on top. The combined vote total of dove candidates McCarthy, Kennedy, Rockefeller and Stassen amounted to 482,426, while that of hawks Johnson, Nixon, Humphrey and Reagan totaled 688,052. This 200,000-vote margin for his Viet Nam position in a state that is supposedly "dovish" should have given the President encouragement, despite his own personal loss.

• On another ballot matter directly involving the Viet Nam situation, voters in the **liberal stronghold of Madison,** home of the University of Wisconsin, firmly rejected a referendum proposition calling for immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of American troops from South Viet Nam. By a margin of 58 to 42 per cent, voters in the Wisconsin capital defeated the anti-Viet Nam proposal, making Madison the fifth city in the country to defeat such a ballot resolution.

JAVITS

New York's liberal Republican Sen. Jacob Javits is finding the path to re-election is not going to be so smooth as he once thought. The two-term incumbent will be opposed by **attractive challengers** from the state's Democratic and Conservative parties, and if Javits really wants the endorsement of the New York Liberal party, he must wage a risky primary fight.

JAVITS

The Liberals have never before endorsed a GOP candidate for statewide office, but this year a majority of its members found Javits' record to their liking and voted him the **Liberal endorsement** at a convention last week. However, a Senate candidate advanced by diehard pro-Democrat labor elements in the Liberal party gained enough convention votes to warrant a primary battle.

Thus, if Javits, who already has the GOP nomination, wishes to retain Liberal backing he must contest with labor mediator **Murray Baron** in a statewide battle. This would be a costly race for Javits and would keep him away from Washington at a busy time for Congress; he has until May 17 to decide whether or not to run in the Liberal party primary.

The man designated to carry the Democrats' banner in the '68 Senate contest is Kennedy protege **Eugene Nickerson**, the elected head of Long Island's Nassau County government. Nickerson was a last-minute candidate who had said weeks earlier he was not interested in the Senate, but who was cajoled into running when it appeared the only alternatives were LBJ backers.

Once Nickerson agreed to run, **Bobby Kennedy's lieutenants** went to work lining up the delegate votes to win the Democratic convention's endorsement. (Nickerson also may face a primary challenge by Rep. **Joseph Resnick**, a Johnson supporter who came in a distant second in the nomination balloting.)

The third contestant in the crowded and confused New York Senate race is the Conservative nominee, **James Buckley**, 45-year-old brother of "National Review" editor and occasional candidate William F. Buckley Jr. The elder Buckley, a lawyer and executive, managed his brother's 1965 campaign for the New York City mayoralty, but otherwise has had little political experience; one party leader, however, described him as "more down to earth" than brother Bill. "If we all work as hard together as we can," Jim told the Conservative party faithful in his acceptance speech, "We will give the major party candidates a run for their money."

INDIANA

With Wisconsin and LBJ out of the way, Democratic presidential contenders Kennedy and McCarthy are now looking forward to Indiana's **May 7 primary showdown**, their first face-to-face meeting on the ballot. Both camps expect the Indiana voting will go a long way in determining the Democratic nominee and are paying the primary its due respect.

KENNEDY

Also appearing on the ballot will be Indiana Gov. **Roger Branigan**, originally running as a presidential stand-in, but now attempting to gain a "favorite son" designation. Most likely, the crucial Kennedy-McCarthy conflict will far overshadow Branigan's attempt.

Kennedy plans to make a series of appearances in Indiana and hopes to win a decisive victory over McCarthy and proceed to **steamroll the Democratic convention** in August, much the way his brother did following the West Virginia primary in 1960. Supporters of the New York senator have been placing increasing pressure on Indiana officials to join their ranks, but so far **no prominent politicos** in the state have done so.

McCarthy, on the other hand, has attracted a handful of ranking Democratic "regulars" to his cause, including **Thomas Scanlon**, 1964 chairman of Indiana Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, and **Alfred Edelson**, who headed a group of Indiana small businessmen backing Johnson in '64.

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Pueblo Seizure: Provocation For Second Front in Korea?

By PAUL SCOTT

Several members of the crew of the captured U.S.S. *Pueblo* have been moved to a prisoner-of-war camp within 10 miles of Panmunjom, where the U.S. and North Korean negotiators are now discussing the fate of these 83 Americans.

This highly significant but mysterious development is now being carefully assessed by President Johnson and his chief foreign policy and military advisers to determine the North Koreans' motives.

Strangely, they shifted the Americans from prisons near Pyongyang in such a way that information of the change leaked out to both U.S. and South Korean intelligence.

This was revealed by President Johnson recently at a private briefing on the *Pueblo* negotiations, during which he stressed he was making every effort to obtain the crew's release.

Attending this unannounced White House meeting was a select group of lawmakers, either close personal friends of the President or chairmen of powerful congressional committees.

"We don't know what the shift of the prisoners means," the President told them, "but we are trying to find out."

After a long pause, the President continued:

"Several of my advisers believe that the switch may be a trap. They believe the crew members were relocated a few miles from the Korean armistice line in hopes that we would try to rescue them."

When one of the legislators asked the President why the North Koreans would take this risk, the President replied:

"We have reliable intelligence that the North Koreans would like to provoke the South Koreans or the U.S. into violating the armistice so they would have an excuse for opening a second front in Korea to help the North Vietnamese.

"All of the recent North Korean military preparations indicate they are prepared for military action against South Korea. They have stockpiled a six-month supply of arms and food in the villages near the 38th parallel. That's an ominous sign."

Following further discussion on some highly classified information about the *Pueblo*, its crew, and its intelligence-gathering mission, one of the lawmakers asked the President:

"Are we making any headway in getting the crew released in those talks at Panmunjom?"

"I'm afraid that my answer to that question will have to be no," replied the President. "Except for getting the Communists to talk about the crew, we haven't made any headway. The only bright side of the talks is that there hasn't been any move by the North Koreans to end them. They seem to want to talk as much as we do."

Then, in reply to one legislator's question, "Why didn't the Navy answer the help plea of the skipper of the *Pueblo*?" the President responded in a very emotional voice:

"There was nothing we could do. No effective military action against North Korea was possible during or after the capture of the *Pueblo*. We just didn't have the ships or planes in the area to pull off a rescue."

Pointing to a map which his military aides had set up on a wall of the briefing room, the President said:

"At Wonsan, there were more than 100 MIGs on several fields within two minutes flying time of where the *Pueblo* was seized by the North Koreans. An additional 30 planes were in the air at the time. These planes were ready to pounce on any rescue force that we would have sent. In other words, the North Koreans were waiting for us. They played around with the *Pueblo* for three hours before taking it. They acted like they were spoiling for a much larger engagement."

At the time the *Pueblo* was seized, the President stated, its position reports showed that the naval vessel was well outside the 12-mile limit, and North Korean radio messages, intercepted at the time by the U.S., confirmed that the *Pueblo* was in international waters.

Significantly, the Russians at first gave the President assurances, he revealed, that they would try to help the U.S. get the *Pueblo* and its crew back.

These gestures by Soviet diplomats here and in Moscow, according to the President, later proved to be nothing more than Kremlin delay tactics for the North Koreans.

One of the military briefers told the legislators, "The North Koreans are using an old brain-washing trick in trying to get the U.S. to falsely admit that the *Pueblo* had violated their territorial waters."

"If our government made that admission," the briefer pointed out, "The Communists would then show members of the *Pueblo* crew that statement, saying: 'Look here, your government lies. You can lie too. Now sign a confession that you violated our territorial waters.' That's the way they operate."

As reported in an earlier column [See *Human Events*, February 17] President Johnson is deliberately withholding other details of the *Pueblo* seizure in an effort to keep a damper on the crisis, including messages from the vessel on the fight by the 83-men crew against a vastly superior North Korean naval force.

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MAYBE WE'LL PAY—"With modern medicine doing so well at increasing our life expectancy, we'd better be careful about adding to the national debt. We might have to pay it ourselves instead of passing it on."—From the *Fraternal Monitor*

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It's Still Not Too Late to Balance Budget

By HENRY HAZLITT

The only path of fiscal responsibility today would be to balance the 1969 federal budget—completely. The government must assure the rest of the world, as well as its own citizens, that the budget is under control. After eight years of uninterrupted deficits, and a total of 32 deficits in the last 38 years, a mere reduction in the size of the deficit just will not do. Complete confidence in the dollar must be restored.

A balanced budget can and should be achieved wholly by mammoth cuts in non-defense expenditures, and not by a tax increase. In his budget message, Mr. Johnson contended that: "It is not the rise in regular budget outlays which requires a tax increase, but the cost of Viet Nam." His own figures are against him. If we compare planned expenditures for the fiscal year 1969 with the actual expenditures for 1964, we find that while defense spending is $28 billion higher, non-defense spending is $41 billion higher.

As the prospective deficit for 1969 would be $20 billion without the proposed increases in individual and corporate income taxes, the budget could be balanced by cutting out less than half of the increased non-defense expenditures of the last five years.

A tax increase is not only unnecessary; there are the strongest reasons against it.

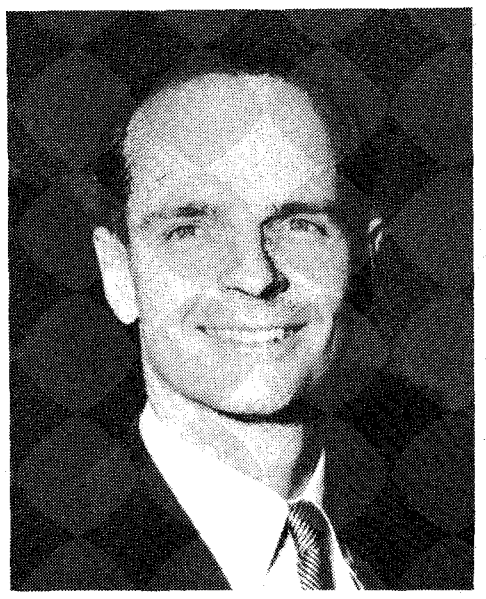
The proposed 10 per cent tax surcharge would ostensibly last for only one year. No one with any knowledge of political realities can seriously believe this. Few things are more permanent than a "temporary" tax. In 1951, to meet the costs of the Korean War, "temporary" increases were imposed in corporate income and in excise taxes. They were due to expire in 1954, but they were repeatedly extended for 10 years until 1964. Other examples are legion, including the present postponement of scheduled reductions in automobile and telephone taxes.

What assurance is there that another $10 billion in taxes will not simply give the government another $10 billion to squander?

There are other strong arguments against a tax increase at this time. On Feb. 6, 1964, as Sen. William Proxmire has reminded us, the then Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon told the House Ways and Means Committee that the tax *reduction* recommended that year would help our balance of payments.

The secretary's argument was that it would do so by making American investment more attractive relative to European investment, and so help the flow of American capital and gold abroad. If this argument were sound, then a tax increase now would depress expectations of profits after taxes in this country and so make investment in other countries relatively more attractive.

Proxmire, in any case, fears that a corporate tax increase would be added to costs and make our exports less competitive abroad.



Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) notes that a tax increase would still take a year or more to have any anti-inflationary effect.

He also quite plausibly estimates that it would take more than a year for a tax increase to have any important anti-inflationary impact on the domestic economy. In contrast, expenditures can be reduced immediately, if Congress and the President have the will to reduce them.

There is, finally, a very real danger that an increase in tax rates, by depressing business, squeezing profits and undermining incentives, could be self-defeating and actually bring in less revenue than the existing level of taxes. The so-called $11-billion tax *cut* in 1964 was followed by increased revenues in 1965 and a still further increase in 1966.

If Congress now mistakenly consents to increase taxes in exchange for alleged expenditure cuts, the tax increase will be real and perhaps permanent. The taxpayers will want the strongest guarantees that the expenditure cuts will not be inadequate, merely temporary, or even fictitious.

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NCC Head Embraces 'White Racism' Theory

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, president of the National Council of Churches, has embraced the theory that "white racism" was chiefly responsible for the rioting in American cities last summer. In a statement on the recent report of the Commission on Civil Disorders he said:

"We must confess the guilt of racism so clearly identified by the members of the commission, ask for forgiveness, and proceed to do everything possible to rectify the conditions that confront us as a result of our sins."

By long tradition Lent is a season of special penitence and extraordinary acts of devotion, but it has never been considered a time when church members must give up use of their brains.

There were many causes of the racial disorders. "White racism" was only one of them and it certainly does not apply equally to all the members of the churches affiliated with the National Council of Churches.

Moreover, if "white racism" is a sin, so is "black racism," and so are murder, stealing, arson and other crimes committed during the civil disorders.

Dr. Flemming is the president of the University of Oregon and resident of a state which has had little experience with the vast migration of poor Negroes from the Southern states. (Oregon's Negro population in 1960 was only 18,133.) Dr. Flemming had wide experience, however, when he served from 1958 to 1961 as United States secretary of health, education and welfare.

His views on the presidential commission's report are not shared by Wilbur J. Cohen, another prominent liberal, who recently was appointed secretary of health, education and welfare by President Johnson. Mr. Cohen said the commission's emphasis on "white racism" was a vast oversimplification, and noted that "black racism, brown racism and red racism" existed at the same time.

He went on to suggest that some of the energy used in rioting "could be directed toward building organizations [among and by the disadvantaged] to help themselves get jobs and education."

"I believe this was by-passed in the commission's report," he added.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey, another noted liberal, also has criticized the findings of the presidential commission.

"To say that 'white society condones' inequity comes dangerously close to a doctrine of group guilt," he said. "Let us not fall into the error of condemning whole societies—white or black or German or Arab or Chinese. Let us not look for scapegoats."

The member denominations of the National Council of Churches now are calling on churches to hold special study programs "keyed to crisis problems" for the months of April, May and June. Many copies of the presidential commission's report are being distributed for use in the studies.

These studies ought to take into account the numerous causes of racial disorders and the substantial progress that has been made in recent years toward better race relations. If the participants in the studies merely wallow in fellings of guilt, no useful purpose will be served.

Why Did Percy Miss Ethics Debate?

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

There was one curious absentee throughout the week the Senate spent adopting the first code of conduct in its history.

Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) not only took no part in the five days of debate on the code, but missed every vote on it and amendments. Neither from him nor anyone else was there an explanation for his strange absence.

Adding piquancy was the fact that two months previously, Percy announced the junking of a plan for a group of Illinois businessmen to raise a $100,000 fund to defray his office expenses—over and above the $265,000 allowed him by the government.

Members of the Ethics Committee, which formulated the code, made no secret that press disclosure of Percy's "office expense fund" was an important factor in the inclusion of a provision barring such funds.

Another factor was the little-noticed annual report of the secretary of the Senate showing that despite Percy's assertion that he needed the special $100,000 fund to meet excessive office expenses, he actually had used only $238,000 of the $265,000 officially available to him.

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Rebelliousness Rampant on the Island

Will Castro Soon Be Overthrown?

By PAUL D. BETHEL

Rebellion, terror and repression. These three words sum up Cuba's internal situation. Even Fidel Castro admits it—and in terms that raise the distinct possibility that an uprising may be brewing.

Castro said on March 13 that the Central Committee of the Communist party had carried out a quiet investigation of the attitudes of people—in Havana's bars, among street vendors and "hole in the wall" businesses. Regarding the poor street vendors, Castro thundered: "Ninety-five per cent of them are counter-revolutionaries!" As for the habitues and owners of Havana's bars, Castro said the investigation "found that 72 per cent are against our revolutionary process." A cross-section of people living in the whole of Havana Province, Castro admitted, turned up a figure of "77.7 per cent" against his regime.

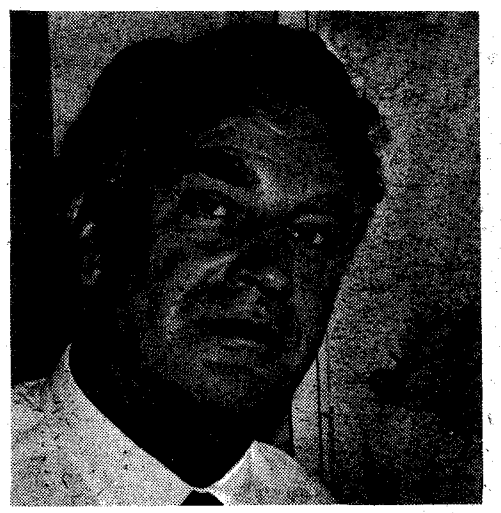
The crackdown was not long in coming. On March 14 Castro announced that 955 bars and 6,452 businesses had been closed by decree, and the remaining bars, "state and private," were soon shuttered throughout the country.

In a sweeping attack on his rebellious subjects, Castro stopped the national lottery, ordered the government to intervene in 25 "art centers because those attending do not meet revolutionary norms" and banned the Cuban peasant's favorite sport, cockfighting, because "people who conduct cockfights are enemies of the revolution." Suddenly, and without explanation, the rice ration for families of military personnel was cut from 12 pounds to three a month, the national average.

Castro's problems are not new. They are deep and abiding. Even his Russian masters have expressed fear that their political base may be slipping out from under them.

Old-line Communist Anibel Escalante and members of the Soviet Embassy in Havana had for years been assessing Castro's diminishing popularity and concluded that Fidel Castro's bungling hands had to be removed from the machinery of government or the country might well collapse.

Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro uncovered this conspiracy and nipped it in the bud. He told the Central Committee of the party in January that Escalante's Russian contact, Rudolf P. Shliapnikov, had warned, "In Cuba, conditions are present for a new Hungary. . . internal dissension is great," and had declared that Castro's police state apparatus was riddled with "petite bourgeoisie." Shliapnikov was Russia's top security agent in Cuba until removed last June.



Mr. Bethel is executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of the authoritative "Latin America Report." A member of the American Embassy staff in Havana when Fidel Castro seized control, he has kept up his many contacts in the Latin American diplomatic corps and has personally interviewed hundreds of Cuban refugees.

A purge followed the uncovering of the conspiracy in which thousands of bureaucrats, military officers and lesser party members were accused of being "enemies of the state" and dropped from government payrolls. Hundreds of others, including the members of what Raul Castro described as a "micro-faction" of 37 top conspirators, were jailed. It was this conspiracy, plus Shliapnikov's grim warning that prompted the party to conduct its poll.

Despite the purge, moreover, Castro's most recent admissions show that the rot now permeates a major part of the Cuban population. He admitted as much in his March 13 speech when he said: "There are many protests. Yes, protests of discontent, a certain confusion and bad feeling concerning the problem of food and clothing."

From all accounts there is more than mere "discontent" in Cuba today. Refugees say that it is now common to find anti-Castro and anti-Communist slogans scribbled on the walls and buildings of Havana, in public rest rooms, cafes and even in government-run factories. The least obscene among them say: "Fidel, You Have No Mother!" "Fidel, You Are a Traitor!"

More immediately important, signs such as these have not appeared since the summer of 1963 when desperate anti-Castro resistance was snapped by a U.S. crackdown on Cuban exiles who were supplying the underground with food, money and arms.

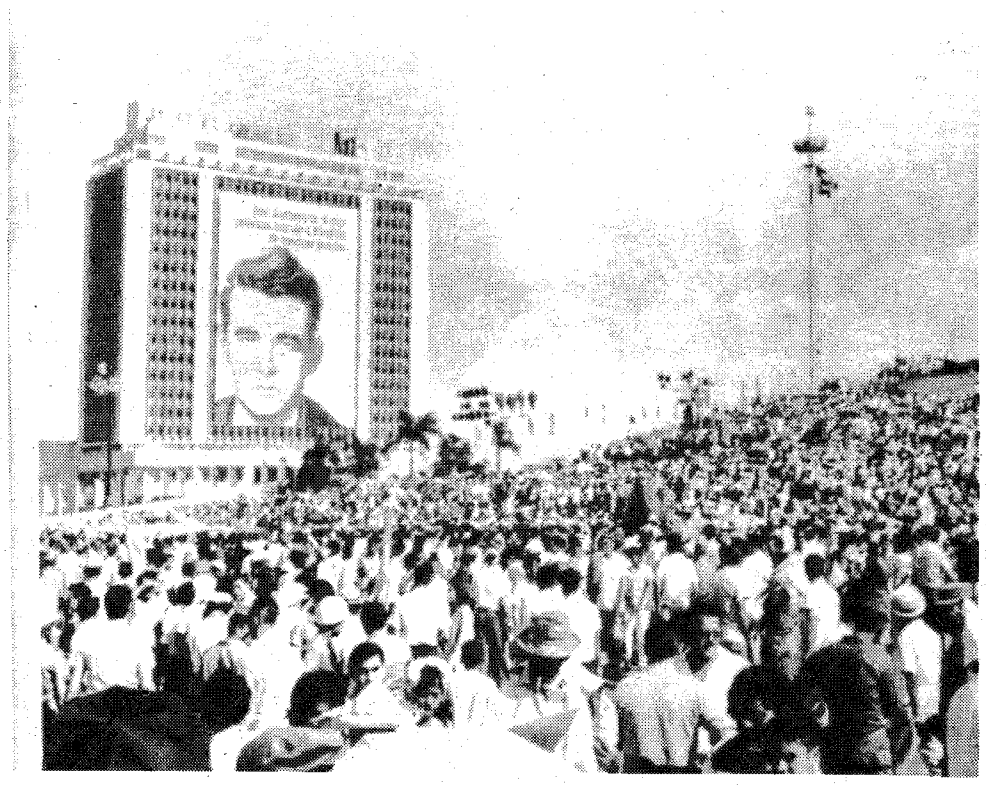
Gilberto Gonzalez Baez was present when 70 stevedores at the Port of Havana refused to load food, powdered milk and medicines, destined for North Viet Nam, aboard a Soviet vessel. He saw two platoons of soldiers surround them, force them onto trucks and take them to dreaded LaCabana fortress. This happened in February and no word of their fate has been released. Since the Gonzalez Baez eyewitness report, four other independent sources have confirmed the story.

Senora Ortiz Garcia tells about a riot in the small town of Guines:

"My neighbor, Senora Eneida Almedia, stood in line to buy electric light bulbs. When the government store opened, there was only one light bulb to be purchased. Women began to fight over it, and then mobs gathered and an anti-government demonstration developed. Soldiers were ordered in, and my friend and another woman were arrested, taken immediately before a 'Popular Tribunal' and sentenced to two months' hard labor on a state farm."

Senora Leonardo Morales describes an ugly brawl that broke out in mid-January in the interior city of Sancti Spiritus:

"A crowd of about 100 people waited in line all night to purchase shoes which were to have been placed on sale. The government manager seemed to be afraid to open the doors, but finally did so about 2:00 p.m., and then announced that no shoes had been delivered to him to sell. People in the line exploded in anger and tore the store apart. Soldiers came running and were cursed by a growing crowd. It turned into an anti-government demonstration and the soldiers were afraid to shoot. Many seemed to be in sympathy with the people. Finally, many more were ordered in and the demonstrators physically overwhelmed and taken away."



Cubans flocked to Havana's Plaza de la Revolucion in 1966 to "celebrate" the anniversary of Castro's rise to power. The bearded dictator's repressive measures may well result in a counter-revolution, according to the author.

With no night club acts or bars to brighten the grim lives of Cubans, the government announced on March 27 that it would stage "swinging jazz" concerts free of charge, a departure from Havana's propaganda barrage. But the determination of the government to continue its repressive measures has risen, not abated. Castro has mounted what he calls a "revolutionary offensive" against "parasites and counter-revolutionaries." Vilma Espin de Castro (Raul's wife), head of the Federation of Cuban Women, set the tone with this March 23 declaration: "We have to crush the counter-revolution."

Milk is virtually unobtainable in Cuba and more than one ration line has erupted when none turns up for sale. As the stevedore strike indicates, many believe that Cuba's milk is being sent to North Viet Nam. Senora Castro's answer to this is: "If the milk is for Viet Nam, then they can have all of it."

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR), nefarious packs of neighborhood informers, have been instructed to "hit in the mouth all who speak bad about the revolution" and to "maintain increased vigilance in all of the neighborhoods." Government officials have been warned that if anyone in their families turns out to be less than 100 per cent for the revolution they will feel the full force of "revolutionary justice."

Each day now, Cuba's radio stations exhort the populace: "Down with the pessimists!" Report all counter-revolutionaries!" More interesting still, Castro militants have been ordered to "shut the mouths of those who talk against the revolution in buses, ration lines and places of work." Refugees say that the order is in response to open and vociferous criticism of both Castro and communism. As one put it: "Virtually nothing else is talked about in Cuba today."

What appears to have happened is this. Cubans cannot have social gatherings in their homes without first receiving a permit from the local CDR, which then spies on their activities, often inviting themselves in. As a result, bars, cabarets and local *bodegas* (small grocery store-bar establishments) have become the meeting places where, Castro now reveals, Cubans give vent to their anti-Castro sentiments.

Apparently fearing that too much rum and too much talk might ignite a conflagration whose end he fears to contemplate, Castro reacted with the reflexes of the dictator. His repressive response to discontent and rebellion, to the point of depriving people of making even a street vendor's meager existence, is bound to increase the already spectacular anti-government percentages.

The Cuban farmers, the *campesinos* in whose name Castro's revolution was made, have refused to work for their Communist masters. They responded to attempts to herd them to work on farms by nearly burning Cuba to the ground, reducing the sugar production from 5,788,100 tons in 1958 to 3.8 million tons in 1963. Since then Castro has tended to leave them alone, permitting them to migrate to the cities where they eke out a living in one menial job or another, including street vending and running small open air bars.

It is for this reason that Castro has had to mobilize city workers, empty government offices, close down entire cities and send people to the fields to cut sugar cane, harvest beans and pick cotton. The most recent crackdown does not, as Castro tried to make the outside world believe, affect the free enterprise or remaining money class, but the very lowest economic and social strata of Cuba.

Castro's latest move is an attempt to force the *campesinos* back to the land, not as owners of small plots of land as he had promised many years ago, but as day workers on state farms. This move is pure dynamite and may well blow up in his face.

Taken together with impressive evidence of rebellion in other segments of Cuban life, the Communist regime in Cuba is now tempting the gods. The "objective conditions" (in Communist parlance) for us to get rid of Castro and communism have never been better. Were the situation reversed, our more vigorous Communist enemies would never pass up such an opportunity.

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Why We Should Abolish the NLRB

Labor policy-making is a job for Congress, not a five-man board

By SEN. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN (R.-Mich.)

Since enactment of the 1959 Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (often referred to as the Landrum-Griffin law), I have followed the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board with more than a passing interest.

I regret to say that it became apparent to Congressman Landrum and me, soon after enactment of the bill which bears our names, and particularly after the appointment in 1961 of two new board members, that our efforts to close certain loopholes in the Taft-Hartley Act were being frustrated.

We were so disturbed, in fact, that we took the floor of the House of Representatives on April 10, 1962, and delivered a joint statement to call attention to the developing pattern of board decisions which were so obviously undercutting the purposes of Congress. Some of the remarks I made then are just as timely now:

"If the Constitution made anything clear, surely it is that policy making is primarily the function of Congress.

"The pattern of . . . decisions by the NLRB has given rise to a serious concern that policies laid down by Congress, in the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, are being distorted and frustrated, to say the very least.

"The decisions themselves are startling enough. However, when viewed in the light of some . . . extrajudicial pronouncements by board members, there is reason to wonder whether the NLRB —which was created by Congress—even concedes the constitutional authority of Congress to legislate and establish policy in the labor-management field.

"For example, my attention has been called to a press release issued Feb. 10, 1962, by the National Labor Relations Board. 'Member Brown Views Labor Board as Policy-Making Tribunal.'

"The press release referred to an address . . . by Mr. Brown in which he said, simply and plainly: 'In my view the board is unquestionably a policy making tribunal.'

"In discussing decisions handed down since he came to the board, member Brown said on that occasion:

"'The present board has freed itself from the self-inflicted dedication to per se rules.

"'Fixed rules are easy to apply and provide the parties with knowledge upon which to predicate their actions. These are desirable results and must, of course, be accorded some weight. Certainty necessarily follows from the implementation of mechanistic rules, but it is a superficial certainty destined for disrepute.'

"When read in the light of its . . . decisions, this extra-judicial pronouncement seems to articulate quite candidly an attitude on the part of some board members which indicates very little regard for either the policy making role of Congress or the doctrine of *stare decisis*.

"Let there be no mistake about the fundamental issue, then, which underlies our discussion here today. The issue concerns responsibility for determining public policy."

In that statement before the House we went on to review a number of board decisions which had ignored or circumvented the clear language of the 1959 act and the intent of Congress in enacting it.

On June 18, 1963, Congressman Landrum and I felt compelled to take the floor of the House of Representatives a second time to focus attention again upon the obvious and determined efforts of the board to re-write the law which we had co-authored. . . .

At that time, our documented charges against the NLRB evoked some reactions of surprise and shock. However, since then, I must say that the attitude and bias of the board have become almost a matter of common knowledge. For example, the well-known TV newscaster, David Brinkley, made this comment one evening in 1966:

"The NLRB is supposed to be an unbiased adjudicating body, something like a court. It usually behaves like a department of the AFL-CIO, and is about as neutral as George Meany."

In the minds of some, any criticism of the NLRB is casually dismissed as just part of a power struggle going on between big business and big unions. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Above, the National Labor Relations Board, which Sen. Griffin charges is overstepping the bounds of its authority. Seated is Chairman Frank McCulloch, while from left to right the board members are: John Fanning, Howard Jenkins Jr., Sam Zagoria and Gerald Brown.

More often, those who actually suffer from the distorted and twisted rulings of the board are the individual workers, small unions, small businessmen and the public at large.

Let me turn to some examples:

Richard Price, a 33-year-old veteran and father of five children, began working back in 1951 as a helper at Pittsburg-Des Moines Steel plant in Santa Clara, Calif. Price did not object when a union shop contract required him to join the United Steelworkers. Advancing job by job, Price finally became a crane operator. But as the years passed, he became disillusioned with the Steelworkers union.

Price not only dared to voice his opinion, but one day he drove 50 miles to the National Labor Relations Board's San Francisco office seeking some advice. Assured by a government lawyer at the NLRB that he had every right under the law to circulate a decertification petition, Price returned and proceeded to seek support among his fellow employes for a move to replace the Steelworkers local with a different union.

The leaders of the Steelworkers local reacted immediately and scheduled a June 1964 meeting to put Price on trial for "undermining the union." Gaveling down a request for a secret ballot vote, the local president called for a show of hands. With less than a third of the local's membership present and voting, Price was "convicted" by a vote of 20 to 15.

Thereupon, Price was suspended from the union, fined $500 and charged the cost of his "trial." (On Nov. 23, 1964, the union withdrew the fine but left in effect all other penalties imposed on Price.) Price then filed a charge with the NLRB and asked for its protection. While awaiting help from the board, Price stated that he found himself the target of continued harassment.

Finally, Price's case was decided, but the NLRB gave Price no help and no protection. The NLRB's decision conceded that under the law Price had a "right" to file the petition as he did. Nevertheless the board held that the union's "disciplinary action" against him was permissible.

One would think that where the statutory right of employes to choose their bargaining representative came in conflict with the power of a big union to impose discipline, the board would recognize the right of the employes. But *Price* and a long line of decisions has demonstrated that when employes' rights and union power come in conflict, the employe gets trampled on.

Consider the treatment meted out to a group of United Auto Workers members at Wisconsin's huge Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. On Feb. 2, 1959, thousands left their plant to attend a strike vote meeting, only to see pickets already marching. There was testimony that the strike vote meeting which followed was a sham, and that anyone who was opposed to strike action was hooted down.

Sen. Griffin is co-author of the Landrum-Griffin law, a measure originally designed to curb excessive union power.

When more than 170 union members refused to engage in the strike, the UAW proceeded to place the non-striking workers on trial, and assessed fines against them ranging up to $100.

Non-striking workers then filed charges with the NLRB against the union for violating workers' rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the act. Although the NLRB conceded that the union's action was "coercive," it decided that the union fines were legal and amounted to an "internal matter."

Section 7 of Taft-Hartley, as amended, specifically gives employes the right to engage in concerted activities and " . . . the right to refrain from any and all such activities."

Sec. 8b (1) (A) of the act makes it an unfair labor practice for a union to "restrain or coerce" employes in the exercise of rights guaranteed by Section 7.

A proviso to Sec. 8b (1) (A) preserves . . . only the power of a union to prescribe its own rule " . . with respect . . . *to the retention of membership therein.*"

Upon carefully reading the act, any worker would reasonably conclude that by exercising his right "guaranteed" by statute to "refrain" from engaging in a strike and going to work—which at the same time would be a violation of union rules—he might subject himself, at most, to a loss of membership in the union.

However, in *Allis-Chalmers* the union did not attempt to expel from membership the workers who dared to go to work. Instead, it levied fines and brought proceedings in court to compel payment of the fines.

In *Allis-Chalmers*, the board was confronted with a choice between (1) protecting the employe's statutory right to refrain from engaging in a strike and going to work, or (2) extending by its own interpretation the meaning of "retention of membership" to give the union the power not only to expel from membership but also to impose and collect fines. Of course, the board bowed again to union power.

The board's ruling in *Allis-Chalmers* is particularly disturbing in light of the legislative history indicating clearly what the framers of the act intended.

As Justice Black of the U.S. Supreme Court pointed out in his dissent, some of the senators who opposed Sec. 8b (1) (A) expressed their concern during the debate that the provision would impair

Continued on page 13

This article is excerpted from Sen. Griffin's remarks March 26 before the Subcommittee on Separation of Powers of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

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Big Labor Plays a Political Waiting Game

By VICTOR RIESEL

It's a long time from April to September, but the elders of labor will be playing a waiting game.

They'll mix prayers with pragmatism while awaiting a presidential candidate to whom to pledge themselves. They'll pray that Lyndon Johnson and Nelson Rockefeller didn't mean it.

They'll coddle Hubert Humphrey. They'll give Bob Kennedy the ice. They'll confer with Gene McCarthy, whose men began seeking out Mr. Labor, George Meany, within an hour after Mr. Johnson declined.

But make no mistake about any of this. These labor men know the implications of power as intimately as Dali knows Dadaism. They know their own strength. And they know the strength of an American President.

And they know that starting next January 20, the next President of the U.S. for the next eight years may well be Richard Nixon (who they believe could only be beaten by Lyndon Johnson).

So the labor leaders, active in some 1,500 cities, are grabbing up all the options they can. They know the significance of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) with its caravans and cash flow—which, when totaled for all labor, could come to $50 million.

The labor leaders are placing themselves in a bargaining posture—as usual. Certainly they reacted to the President's funeral valedictory. For the labor chiefs, it reeked of the end of their years of victory. They sat and told each other gloomily that the tornado-tongued Hubert Humphrey could not even carry Minnesota.

He would plunge in with all of Mr. Johnson's liabilities and none of his machinery—though, only 10 minutes after the camera's red eye blinked black, a White House aide telephoned New York State's Johnsonian leaders to keep the headquarters going.

As for Gene McCarthy, none of the senator's close aides had even the home phone numbers of high AFL-CIO leaders for swift calls that Sunday night.

As for Bob Kennedy, one of the very top labor men said, "If the fight is between Bobby Kennedy and Dick Nixon, I'm moving to Canada and renouncing my U.S. citizenship."

This should be modified by the fact that those close to George Meany feel that labor's power in the White House will slip from the AFL-CIO president to Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers president, should Kennedy be elected.

While the labor leaders, who had been running a series of regional political action sessions on how to re-elect Lyndon Johnson, play the waiting game, they'll wait for some supersonic signal from the President. What does he want?

He opted out on a high moral, political and patriotic tone. So he can't bikini himself and dash back into the partisan political surf. Or, he might back a loser. If so, his refurbished national esteem would disappear.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey has already been given the personal backing of AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany.

So the signal will have to be inaudible to anybody but George Meany. But what if the signal never comes—though in private, the President loathes Bob Kennedy more than any of us have ever indicated in print.

The labor leaders probably will back Bob Kennedy first against McCarthy (who they say is a 62 per cent liberal) and, later, certainly against Dick Nixon.

After talking to what seems like an endless number of labor leaders who kept saying, "Well, I really don't know" (and they meant it), one discovers their discomfort with "Bobby" is more personal than political.

They can take him politically though they can't socially. Everybody rubs everybody else the wrong way—and labor leaders don't jump in the pool. They play gin rummy alongside. A handful of union leaders feel so strongly about "Bobby" that they said they'd prefer Nixon.

Most will back Kennedy, but with how much, and with what toughness, and with what actual or apparent political karate, is uncertain.

Do they really go for Nixon's jugular? If they do and he wins, can they afford to have been so deadly in their propaganda that they get frozen out of the White House for eight years?

Only a handful of us will remember that there was strong Republican labor support for Dwight Eisenhower. And he paid off on that IOU.

He appointed the plumbers union chief, Marty Durkin, secretary of labor of the U.S. And when the late Mr. Durkin, who was ill, resigned with a slashing attack on President Eisenhower, the general, after consulting with his vice president, turned the other cheek.

He appointed the late Jim Mitchell who, in the closing days of 1960, was given one of the most fraternal of labor banquets where, lo, all union chiefs agreed that "Jim" had been the "best secretary of labor" in history.

Believing themselves without a potential winner, labor may want to lose softly with the loser. They may have to live with Dick Nixon.

The labor men are pros. But this waiting game will be the most tortured they've played.

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THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS "GOVERNMENT MONEY"!

by Dr. Merle E. Parker

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You and I, Mr. and Mrs. Fellow American, have let ourselves become so thoroughly brainwashed by the giant Washington Bureaucracy that we have forgotten that there is no such thing as "government money".

"Government", whether city, county, state or national, has no money at all. No, not one penny! It is **OUR MONEY** which "government" dishes out for various "projects" highly touted in the newspapers, on television and radio newscasts. It is money stolen right out of our pockets!

The Bureaucrats never let it leak out that for every million dollars "government" gives the states, the Washington Bureaucracy has taken out **two million** in taxes! Even in the "poorest" states, the people are the losers, not the gainers, for if every penny paid in taxes by the people in these "poor" states was used in those states, instead of to support a giant monster in Washington, those states would not be "poor" in the first place!

The next time you hear anybody say, "This was built with Federal money," stop him and correct him. Say, "Wait just a minute, my Friend. There is no such thing as 'Federal' money. It is my money and your money, paid as taxes, which built that."

And when someone says, "That is the county building," correct him, too. Remind him that he should say, "That is the People's building," or "That is the Taxpayers' building."

Let's reverse the brainwashing process, and start calling things by their right names. Let's get the matter of "government money" in focus and view it in the proper perspective. Then, let's you and I put our shoulders together and push through the **National Initiative and Referendum** amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would give the final voice on all legislation to the voters. Then, We, the People of the United States, will again have established a government, "Of the PEOPLE, by the PEOPLE, and for the PEOPLE!"

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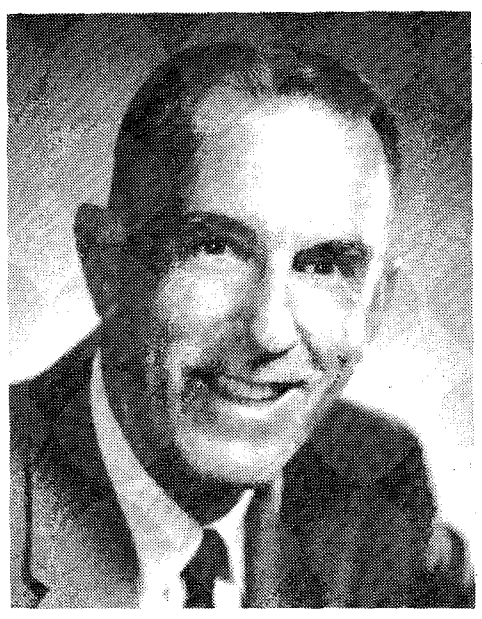

Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.), left, notes that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission headed by Clifford Alexander is engaged in setting employment quotas by race. Congress, however, specifically proscribed such a policy.

'Equal Opportunities' Letter Disregards Intent of Congress

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Open defiance by a federal agency of congressional intent in passage of a law no longer comes under the heading of startling news.

Too often in recent years, in the unending war between Congress and the executive branch, the latter has been revealed as deciding that the law is what a government official would like it to be, not what Congress clearly spelled out as its purpose.

Sen. Paul J. Fannin (R.-Ariz.), however, has just unearthed a new instance of bureaucratic arrogance, so clearly violative of the spirit and letter of the law that it deserves alarmed attention. He will present it this week to a Senate subcommittee seeking an answer to the question: "Have federal agencies grown so powerful that they are now above the law?"

Fannin obtained a copy of a letter signed by Clifford L. Alexander Jr., chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It is addressed to employers accused of unlawful employment practices resulting in the virtual exclusion of minority groups because of their race, color, or national origin.

"The facts on which this charge is based are that the above-named respondent [the employer] is operating in a labor market which contains a substantial minority group population, but employs relatively few minority group members," the letter states.

It serves notice that the commission will investigate to determine if the facts are true. It notes that the "aggrieved persons" include all minority group members "who might have been denied employment opportunities."

The only thing wrong about this official procedure, Fannin noted, was that the commission was specifically prohibited from such a course when it came into being in mid-1965 as a result of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Congress debated loud and long on the advisability of creating the commission. It agreed that an end to discrimination in employment was a worthy goal, but that setting employment quotas was not the right way to go about achieving it.

Speaker after speaker arose to emphasize that the act did not confer power to force an employer to hire a percentage of minority group members which was related to the percentage of that minority in the surrounding community.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.), now vice president, said a subsection had been added to remove any doubts on the subject. The act, he remarked, "does not require an employer to achieve any sort of racial balance in his work force by giving preferential treatment to any individual or group."

Sen. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) drove the point home. The act, he noted, had been specifically amended to bar preferential treatment to any group "on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the percentage of minority employes in comparison with the total percentage of such persons in that area."

The Justice Department presumably settled the question with this official verdict: "No employer is required [under this act] to hire an individual because that individual is a Negro. No employer is required to maintain any ratio of Negroes to whites."

In House debate, there was similar unanimity. The report on the bill stressed that "the commission must confine its activities to correcting abuse, not promoting equality with mathematical certainty. The commission will only jeopardize its continued existence if it seeks to impose forced racial balance upon employers or labor unions."

The Alexander letter blithely ignored these admonitions, Fannin noted. On the record, the commission chairman stands convicted as a lawbreaker. Like many another appointed official in the federal power structure, not subject to the judgment of the electorate, he makes his own laws, confident that there will be no penalty.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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DEFENSE DEPARTMENT figures obtained by Rep. Donald Riegle (R.-Mich.) hardly buttress the Administration claim that the enemy is hurting in Viet Nam. In 1962 the U.S. had to spend $14 million and lose 1.5 men to kill 1,000 Viet Cong. By last year, however, the cost had risen to $234 million and the loss of men to 106.5 for each 1,000 enemy troops killed in action.

□□□

SWITCH?—"LBJ says $186 billion is the cost of guns and butter. Maybe we should switch to slingshots and a low-price spread."—Don Maclean in the Washington *Daily News*

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Yes! Interest in Ronald Reagan is almost unbelievable! In researching material for this booklet, the author was amazed at the number of people who volunteered comments comparing Reagan's political charisma to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy. Many people pointed out that Reagan did the "impossible" in 1966 — he unified a previously split California GOP, then attracted vast numbers of Independents and Democrats. He crushed by a million votes California's popular Governor Pat Brown — the man who had become a living legend and had been tabbed "unbeatable" four years earlier, as he defeated none other than former Vice President Richard Nixon! (Incidentally, many people have been fascinated by the author's observation that a handsome young entertainer — a musician named David became the greatest king of ancient Israel, some 3000 years ago. This observation appears in the Photo-Biography!)

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And "The National Observer", the important national week-end newspaper published by Dow-Jones (publisher of "The Wall Street Journal") has featured Ronald Reagan in a major front-page spread entitled "The Day They Stopped Laughing". The article said that when Reagan was first mentioned as a candidate for governor the critics laughed. Then he won big! He was mentioned as a GOP Presidential candidate for 1968. And again the critics laughed. He appeared in a TV "debate" with Bobby Kennedy, already as famous as the 1960 JFK-Nixon TV debates. Only this time, the "Observer" said, Reagan was clearly the victor in the judgement of 20 million American viewers. Reagan has since sky-rocketed in appeal. As a result, the article reports, the critics have stopped laughing!

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Although the Caracas incident has received the most publicity, Nixon was warmly received at many points on this 1958 Latin American tour. Above, a friendly Buenos Aires crowd greets Nixon.

De-Mything Nixon's Past

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

There is much talk among the pundits of a "new" Richard Nixon. Compared to the monster that his enemies painted him to be, Mr. Nixon does, indeed, seem like a different man. To those of us who have known him over the years—as he rose from representative to senator to vice president—the differences between the "old" Nixon and the "new" are strictly superficial. What makes the critics claim a new personality for him is, simply, that they have begun to look at the man rather than the bogey they once conjured up.

The Nixon mythology will, however, be restored to its place in American journalism once Dick Nixon confronts the Democrats—if, of course, he wins the nomination. At that time the old canards about him will be dredged up in an effort to frighten the voter. And the Nixonologists will once more futilely cite the record to show that most of the charges are the product of frightened fancies among liberals who have never reconciled themselves to his unswerving anti-communism.

How the Nixon myth grew is dramatically demonstrated by the late Serafino Romualdi in his posthumous book, *Presidents and Peons* (Funk & Wagnalls). Mr. Romualdi was, in a sense, the AFL-CIO's ambassador to Latin America, respected by its leaders who recognized his yeoman service in keeping much of the labor movement below the border free of Communist influence. He was a member of the official party that accompanied Richard Nixon on his celebrated tour of Latin America.

The appearance of Mr. Nixon in Caracas and other cities was the signal for well-planned violence and a systematic effort to degrade him and his wife. In one of the riots Dick and Pat Nixon barely escaped death. This aspect of the Nixon trip received wide coverage.

But Mr. Romualdi points out that, despite the efforts of some American diplomats to prevent it, Mr. Nixon met with many labor groups and was warmly received by them. When the vice president returned to the states, there was a wave of sympathy and admiration for him and for the calm way in which he had met the gutter assaults of the rioters.

This upset certain liberal spokesmen who refused to accept the fact that the reception Mr. Nixon received from extremist elements was aimed at the United States and not at the target of the abuse.

In fact, Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith remonstrated in a letter to the New York *Times* that the cause of the riots was "popular hostility against Mr. Nixon" because he was "widely regarded as an anti-democratic figure." To back this up Mr. Galbraith vaguely cited "academic circles"—as if the left-wing hoodlums and activists who attacked the vice president were college professors. This "interpretation" and addition to the myth was given currency to prove that Mr. Nixon only got what was coming to him.

In his book Mr. Romualdi quotes from the answer he wrote to the New York *Times*. "In my extensive connection with groups and personalities in the labor and political movements in every country in Latin America, I have never heard any remark which, even remotely, could be construed as substantiating Mr. Galbraith's statement." Since the so-called Nixon incident, Mr. Romualdi continued, he had traveled widely in Latin America and spoken to people in all levels of government, the press, labor and the business world.

"In no instance," he wrote categorically, "have I heard or read any indication that the views expressed by Mr. J. K. Galbraith as to the cause of the so-called Nixon incidents reflect the sentiments of any applicable sector of Latin American public opinion.

"What I have heard and read repeatedly was that the underlying motive for the demonstrations was the accumulated dissatisfaction against the economic and political policies of the United States government in Latin America. . . .

"May I add, also, that the Latin Americans with whom I come most often in contact—including outstanding leaders of democratic parties—have nothing but admiration for the vice president's calm behavior in the face of the indignities to which he was subjected, and for the sober appeal to strengthen the bonds of solidarity among the American family of nations. . . . He is also being credited in almost every quarter for the new emphasis given in our government's high echelon to Latin American problems and for the measures already adopted to correct past mistakes."

Prof. Galbraith's charges, in clearcut contradiction of the facts, disclose the methodology of the anti-Nixon myth-makers. It will be something to bear in mind when the 1968 crop of myths begins to circulate.

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BOOK NOTES

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COME TO THE PARTY by Hugh Scott (Prentice-Hall, 269 pages, $5.95)

". . . Scott says that the Republican party has room for 'traditional conservatives, progressives, moderates and liberals.' But many Republicans who regard themselves as philosophical kin to Robert Taft or Barry Goldwater apparently don't fit any of those identifying tags.

"The author, virtually a charter member of the 'Eastern Establishment,' has always been known for his savage sarcasm, and in this book he will not disappoint those who admire that trait. But he will dismay those who hope that a review of Republican history will illumine the path to unity for the 1968 presidential election. Republicans who in Scott's judgment are not sufficiently attuned to current social problems are dismissed, in his words, as mastodons, aboriginals, old fuds, dinosaurs, foot draggers, noisy obstructionists, neolithics and troglodytes.

"The senator is fond of the withering invective of yesteryear. He recalls his assertion in 1950 that the party must 'improve its circulatory system by getting rid of some of the blood clots.' He quotes with admiration Joseph Alsop's observation that the GOP loses so many races because its entries are 'spavined, string-halted or afflicted with glanders.'

"This kind of bombast takes the place of documentation and serious analysis. Scott classifies the leaders of the Young Republican National Federation as 'young crustaceans' and (by implication) 'reactionary kooks.' But he fails to support his contention that the young Republicans are unrepresentative of the American youth he considers so vital to the party's future. Nor does he document his assertion that the right-wingers took over the organization by undemocratic maneuvers. . . ."—By Donald Young in **Saturday Review**

LINDSAY'S CAMPAIGN: A Behind-the-Scenes Diary by Oliver Pilat (Beacon, 348 pages, $5.95)

"Day by day with John, as he set out to become Mr. Big in Fun City. Well-chosen photographs and jumpy journalistic prose help recall a campaign that has also been written up from a slightly different point of view by a loser, William F. Buckley Jr."—From **Christian Century**

TSHOMBE by Anthony Bouscaren (Twin Circle, 154 pages, 95¢)

"Father Daniel Lyons says in his introduction to this both shocking and inspiring story: 'Dead or alive, Moise Tshombe remains an explosive problem.' Tshombe epitomizes the (rare) responsible black African leader on a continent whose explosive potentialities cannot be ignored by the world in general or Americans in particular. He was a firm friend of the United States and the West. . . .

"Yet a former president of Katanga, a former premier of the Congo was kidnapped and incarcerated—an act greeted with almost dead silence from the self-proclaimed 'defenders of freedom' of the Liberal Establishment in and out of the United Nations.

"In this current little book, Prof. Anthony Bouscaren tells the highly interesting story of Tshombe, the Congo and what the entire episode meant to the future of Africa. . . ."—By Rosalie Gordon in **America's Future**

SECRET SOCIETIES edited by Norman MacKenzie (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 350 pages, $9.95)

"The cock-sparrows of the world often try to gain importance by signing up with other weaklings and, by disguising their plumage, creating a sense of mystery. Sometimes secret societies engage in charitable activities; sometimes they are merely frivolous. Frequently they are ominous. MacKenzie's colleagues expose to view, with ample illustrations, groups like 'The Mysteries,' 'Mau Mau,' 'Freemasonry,' 'The Rosicrucians,' 'The Mafia,' and 'The Ku Klux Klan.' Many of these have nothing but secrecy in common with each other."—From **Christian Century**

CRISIS NOW, James M. Gavin with Arthur Hadley (Random, 184 pages, $4.95)

"Former Gen. Gavin (who was President Kennedy's ambassador to France) would like to see the U.S. retreat to enclaves in Viet Nam, stop escalating into North Viet Nam and push for a settlement. . . .

"Gavin links the two grave problems, Viet Nam and the urban revolution, to a root cause which in his opinion is the scientific revolution. That is why he treats them together. However, a book which hammered intensively at one or the other might be more effective than this well-intentioned but somewhat scattered approach. . . "
—From **Publisher's Weekly**

CRISIS IN CREDIBILITY by Bruce Ladd (New American Library, 247 pages, $5.50)

"[This] is a long overdue book.

"'The current crisis in credibility,' says the book's author, is 'attributed to three basic factors: (1) The government's unwarranted and unjustified concern with secrecy; (2) Lying by government officials; (3) The government's adeptness at devising new ways to mislead the public and the press through manipulation of information or news management.'

"There you have the book's thesis: the story of how the U.S. government lies to the U.S. public and, thereby, to the rest of the world. . . .

"As documented by Ladd, the Johnson Administration has consistently and repeatedly misled Americans about our commitments in Southeast Asia, the extent of our activities there, about peace negotiations, about military victories and defeat, and about casualties.

"Ladd also outlines steps which he suggests can be taken toward more truth in government."
—Edwin D. Neff in the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee **Newsletter**

CHRIST IN THE COMMUNIST PRISONS by Richard Wurmbrand and Charles Foley (Coward-McCann, 225 pages, $5)

"Richard Wurmbrand is likely to become one of the most controversial religious figures ever to emerge from behind the Iron Curtain. A Lutheran pastor, he was first arrested by Rumania's Communist regime as he was walking home from his church on Sunday, Feb. 29, 1948. This was the prelude to more than 14 years of 'relentless interrogation, attempted brainwashing and physical torture.'

"**Christ in the Communist Prisons** is a well-written autobiographical account of this experience. The author impresses one not only with his ability to withstand unbelievable pressures with quick-witted arguments and answers for his persecutors, but also with his ability to remember in detail conversations that took place under acute mental and physical stress as much as 20 years ago."—From **Christianity Today**

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Continued from Page 9

Why We Should Abolish the NLRB

the effectiveness of strikes. Addressing himself specifically to that concern, Sen. Taft replied:

"It would not outlaw anybody striking who wanted to strike. It would not prevent anyone using the strike in a legitimate way . . . *All it would do would be to outlaw such restraints and coercion as would prevent people from going to work if they wished* to go to work."

At another point in the debate, referring to Section 7 of the act, Sen. Taft said this was amended (to include the right "to refrain" from engaging in concerted activities) in order " . . . to make the prohibition contained in Sec. 8b (1) apply to coercive acts of unions against employes who did not wish to join *or did not care to participate in a strike or picket line.*"

Obviously, the board has so twisted the law that it now operates in a way which is exactly contrary to the intent clearly indicated by Sen. Taft.

It is true that in the two cases cited, *Price* and *Allis-Chalmers*, the ruling of the NLRB was affirmed upon appeal to the courts. However, it should be borne in mind that many board decisions are never appealed because of the expense involved or because the issues become moot.

Of course, even when a board decision is appealed, there is no right to a new and unbiased hearing. On appeal a court is required to sustain findings of fact if supported by "substantial" evidence. And, too often, the appellate court defers to the supposed "expertise" of the NLRB in the labor-management field.

In 1959, had we any idea that Taft-Hartley would be construed to permit unions to impose coercive fines on workers as a means of nullifying their rights guaranteed by Section 7, we would have attempted to add an appropriate amendment at that time.

However, we were certain then, as Sen. Taft was certain in 1947, that the provisions of Sec. 8b (1) (A) clearly prohibited unions from restraining or coercing employes in the exercise of their protected rights. We did provide in the Landrum-Griffin Act that it shall be unlawful for a union to "fine, suspend, expel or otherwise discipline" a member for exercising any right set forth in the "Bill of Rights" of the 1959 act.

There are numerous examples of the way the NLRB has substituted its policies for those of Congress. Permit me to focus on two more. I have chosen these two examples because I am personally familiar with the intent of Congress, having participated in the drafting of the statutory language in 1959.

The *Baker Bros. Case* involved an interpretation of Section 8b (7), a provision added by the 1959 amendments. This section was written with the well-documented intent of halting a practice referred to as "blackmail organizational picketing"; i.e., picketing by a union for the purpose of compelling employes to join the union and forcing the employer to recognize it.

By its terms, Sec. 8b (7) prohibits "recognition" or "organizational" picketing unless a petition for an election is filed by the union within 30 days after such picketing commences. A proviso to that section was added in conference to make it clear that constitutional free speech in the form of purely informational picketing would not be affected if the picket signs are truthful and if such picketing does not hinder deliveries to or from the employer.

Indicative of the labor union pressure which can disrupt the economy is the long Florida East Coast Railway strike which has resulted in violence.

The essential and undisputed facts in the *Baker Bros.* decision were that, without filing a representation petition, the union picketed an employer for more than 30 days (1) for the purpose of recognition; (2) with signs that were untruthful, and (3) with the effect of stopping or delaying deliveries and services to the employer on at least five (and probably more than 15) occasions.

Even if the picket signs had been truthful, which they were *not*; and even if there had been no interference with the deliveries, which there was, the organizational picketing (which was not informational picketing) and should have been enjoined as precisely the type of activity which Congress by Sec. 8b (7) sought to eliminate.

Nevertheless, the board ingeniously managed to find a way to excuse the union's conduct.

The board admitted that the picket signs were not truthful but then said it found no evidence that anyone had been deceived. Of course, no evidence had been presented to show deception because the statute does not speak of deception—it speaks of truthfulness.

The board conceded that the picketing resulted in delivery stoppages but then proceeded to ignore the statute on the ground that there was no showing that the delivery stoppages had disrupted business. Again, there was no such showing because the test laid down by Congress was "delivery stoppages"—not disruption of business.

The effect of the board's decision in *Baker Bros.* and other cases has been to virtually repeal Sec. 8b (7), legalizing once again the practice of blackmail organization picketing. (The board, in fact, openly admitted that it would not read the statutory language literally as this would "do a disservice to Congress.")

A more recent example of "legislating" by the NLRB can be found in the last *National Woodwork* decision. In this case, the board "legalized" boycott activity which Congress sought in the 1959 amendments to prohibit. I refer to the product boycott.

In the *National Woodwork* case, a carpenters union obtained an agreement with a contractors association which provided that contractors could not use precut and prefitted doors.

In order to outlaw such boycotts, Congress in 1959 added Sec. 8e to the Taft-Hartley Act. This new section makes it unlawful to enter into an agreement requiring an employer to refrain from handling the products of, or doing business with, any other employer.

Although the language of 8e is unambiguous and although the boycott activity in *Woodwork* clearly fell within its terms, the board determined that it should nevertheless examine the legislative history to see if Congress meant what it said.

Then, relying heavily on statements of those who opposed the 1959 act—instead of those who wrote and supported it—the board proceeded to conclude that Congress actually didn't mean what it had said. . . .

In the *National Woodwork* case, the board found that the product boycott was legal and was covered by Section 8e because the object of the agreement was "to preserve work" for employes covered by the agreement.

But there is no reference to the statute to "work preservation" as an exception to the ban or boycott. This theory is nothing more than a board-legislated proviso to Sec. 8e. . . .

(In his dissent to the Supreme Court's ruling on the case, Mr. Justice Stewart pointed out that: "The court undertakes a protracted review of legislative and decisional history in an effort to show that the clear words of the statute should be disregarded in these cases. But the fact is that the relevant history fully confirms that Congress meant what it said, and I therefore dissent.")

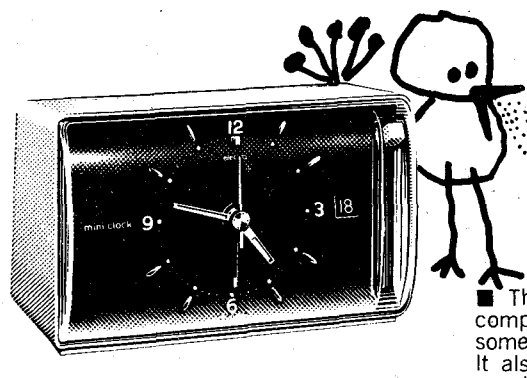
It is important to recognize that in many cases where the NLRB "legalizes" the use of boycotts by certain unions, it does so at the expense of other unions. Generally speaking, work that is "preserved" for the members of one union is denied the members of another union who produce the boycotted product. And, of course, the public suffers because such practices restrain and restrict the use of more efficient and less expensive methods of construction or production.

Over the years the board has clearly revealed a bias which works not only against individual workers and the public, but also against certain unions if their interests happen to conflict with favored unions. For example, an independent union rarely prevails before the board if it dares to compete with an AFL-CIO affiliated union. . . .

As I have reflected on the pattern of board decisions since enactment of Landrum-Griffin, I have come to the conclusion that the board, as currently structured, is not an appropriate instrumentality to implement congressional purpose in this field. . . .

The NLRB does not act like a judicial body because it is not a court. It is a politically appointed, politically oriented agency that is too close to political and other pressures. The terms of its members are too short. Two of the present board members are not even members of the bar.

I have concluded that the time has come to abolish the NLRB and to replace it with a U.S. Labor Court patterned after the U.S. Tax Court. I have introduced a bill (S. 1353) to achieve this purpose. . . . I admit that it may not be the ultimate or perfect answer to all problems in the field, but I commend this legislation for consideration.



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Politics in California

Art of the Improbable

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The adage, "Politics is the art of the possible," holds true even in California. But, in applying it, you must realize ours is a maverick state where even the seemingly improbable is possible. We have learned not to bet against the wildest rumors, for they often turn out to be true.

E.G., some time ago, a Beverly Hills weekly ran a front-page "exclusive" heralding that ex-Gov. Pat Brown, who now resides here, would essay a political come-back by running for senator in the Demo primary.

At the time, the only announced GOP aspirant was the incumbent Thomas Kuchel, and that made it seem as though we didn't have much choice. Our senior senator had refused to support Nixon against Pat in the 1962 gubernatorial race, and in 1964 had likewise turned thumbs down on Goldwater and Murphy and, in 1966, on Reagan. Which, on all four counts, made him even-Steven with Pat. How can the average voter distinguish between identical political twins?

Since then, however, things have cleared up a bit. The "exclusive" was so exclusive that even Pat was unaware of it. And now Max Rafferty, state superintendent of public instruction, has entered the GOP primary. Max is Republican in fact as well as in name, and had supported the four nominees Kuchel had found wanting.

That, of course, makes Max persona non grata to liberal Republicans. And, in addition, he has antagonized our educrats—that felicitous term coined by Gov. Kirk of Florida to describe the more progressive educators—by stressing the scholastic value of the ancient Three R's and denouncing the modern Fourth R (for riots) which both hippy students and profs deem more applicable to these times.

California Republicans have adopted the 11th Commandment, "Thou shalt not speak ill of other GOP candidates," and Max held to that code when he formally announced. The first thing he said was, "I want to make it clear I regard Tom Kuchel as an honest and patriotic American. My quarrel with him is based on the wide difference in our philosophical approach to our problems."

Mine was a ringside seat, so I know what he said. But the cartoonist for our liberal paper heard it differently. His pictorial misrepresentation of it showed Max calling Kuchel a "Red." That it was done in the spirit of good, clean fun, I doubt not—oh, hell, let's be honest: I doubt it completely—but it has had its effect. Already I have met this from those who did not hear the speech but saw the cartoon: "Imagine Rafferty calling Kuchel a Red! How low can you get?"

That's a good question, come to think of it. Especially if you refuse to listen to the answer—or read the speech.

On the Demo side, the entrants are now Alan Cranston, who fathered the zealous California Democratic Council but, like other sires, no longer communicates with his offspring. The CDC is backing State Sen. Anthony Beilenson as the more dovish of the two.

Sam Yorty, the hawkish mayor of Los Angeles, had also been expected to file but bowed out. He made it clear, however, he would back neither Democratic dove. "I will throw my support to those candidates who stand up for America," he said.

Now that phrase, in one form or another, has been in use throughout all our history. But a political writer for the aforementioned liberal sheet was at pains in his news story to point out that Gov. Wallace's campaign slogan is also "Stand Up for America."

If ever I saw a blatant innuendo, that was it. That tortuously dragged-in obiter dictum—neither relevant, competent nor material—ought to win this year's Pulitzer Prize for the shoddiest example of "interpretive journalism"—or there just ain't no justice.

We also have the Peace and Freedom party entrant for the U.S. Senate race. Those boys lived up to their name by nominating Paul Jacobs, a self-styled radical who thinks the American way of life a complete sham and is dedicated to revising it in his own image. Interestingly, Mr. Jacobs' nomination was seconded by a "Black Power" delegate who, just a few minutes before, had publicly threatened to kill him.

And that's only for the primaries. Boy, what a hot summer we're going to have!

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CUBAN 'STOPOVERS'—"I've been deeply concerned over the fact that numerous aircraft, particularly in recent weeks, have been hijacked to Cuba with innocent passengers' lives and safety jeopardized. I think it's time that Congress took under consideration, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, the needed tightening legislation to put these hijackers out of business." — Rep. William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.)

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'Inglish' in Eastern Europe

Are Communists Waging 'War on Words'?

By NINO LO BELLO

Vienna:— Now that the Communist nations have opened their doors to set out welcome mats for American tourists who bring in those lovable dollar bills, the Reds are putting spit and polish to their English at the expense of the English language. What was once therefore the "war of words" between us and them has now become the "war on words" between them and us.

Hotels and elevators constitute the soft underbelly of communism. It seems the Marxists are having words with the King's "Inglish," as witness the samples of skewed syntax this reporter has accumulated during his travels behind the Iron Curtain.

In Belgrade's new state-owned skyscraper hotel, the Slavija, the elevator instructions (are you listening, Marshal Tito?) tell users:

"(1) To move the cabin push button of wishing floor. (2) If the cabin should enter more persons, each one should press number of wishing floor. Driving is then going alphabetically by natural order. (3) Button retaining pressed position shows received command for visiting station."

Posted on the door of my room in the same hotel was this notice: "Let Us Know About Any Unficiency As Well As Leaking On The Service. Our Utmost Will Improve It."

Not to be outdone by anybody in this dialect materialism, the Hungarians once handed out printed folders to visiting athletes during an international sporting event which said:

"Sports in the rotting capitalistic countries are the declared enemy of the Socialist athletes who consider it their duty to worth the superiority of the Socialist races. Yet we wish you good luck. Our applause for you will be as enthusiastic, but mind that this applause is never delivered to the capitalistic system, of which we have our own views."

As if that weren't enough for the Magyars, in many of their plush hotel rooms, you're likely to read the warning: "All rooms not denounced by 12 o'clock will be paid for twicely."

In Prague a stateside traveler also gets the impression the Czechs have never bothered to double-Czech their mangling participles. For example, take this questionable piece of prose in the office of Cedok, Czechoslovakia's state tourist agency: "Take One of Our Horse-Driven City Tours—We Guarantee No Miscarriages."

While abroad a Soviet ship in the Black Sea, I found the following lifesaving instructions on my cabin door: "Helpsavering apparata in emergings behold many whistles! Associate the stringing apparata about the bosoms and meet behind. Flee then to the indifferent lifesavering shippen obediencing the instructs of the vessel chef."

The Russians are also proud of their ice cream, a type which one of their ambassadors to Washington brought from the United States and which Soviet dieticians copied fairly successfully. On the wrapper of a gummy but yummy cone, one is privileged to be told:

"Do not taste our Ice Cream when it is too hard. Please continue your conversation until the Ice Cream grows into a softer. By adhering this advisement you will fully appreciate the wonderful Soviet Ice Cream."

On a highway in Poland there's a sign that tells foreign motorists "Go soothingly in the snow, as there lurk the ski demons." Another Polish traffic sign: "Right Turn Toward Immediate Outside."

Strolling in the heart of downtown Warsaw, you can buy "U.S. Ham Burgers" and for the Britons there's even a cafe which serves "Five O'Clock Tea At All Hours." The theatre program issued during a performance of *Rigoletto* in Warsaw's spanking-new opera house says that "the act ends with the rape of Gilda, organized by the knight Marullo, which is convinced doing so, to play a vindictive joke to the buffoon of whom the young lady is considered lover."

But of all the tricky translation I've collected in the Communist world, perhaps this one deserves a special plaque. On the elevator door of a Rumanian hotel lobby:

"The lift is being fixed for the next days. During that time we regret that you will be unbearable."

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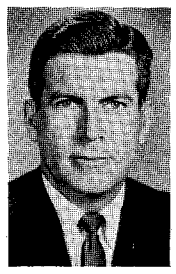
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

TFX Home to Roost

By REP. THOMAS J. MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

The TFX fighter was originally advertised as a great economy measure. It was supposed to be used by both the Air Force and the Navy. Parts would be interchangeable for even greater economy. Former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara pushed the plan ahead in spite of all opposition—including the unamimous objections of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.



Our first objective should be to buy the best available equipment for the job of defending the United States. Cost is a secondary consideration where the safety of the country is concerned.

The result of the McNamara decision was predictable. The Navy has officially recommended that future spending for the Navy version of the TFX be abandoned. The plane is too heavy for use on aircraft carriers, for one thing. It has many other technical deficiencies.

The net result of this fiasco, as far as the Navy is concerned, is a total waste of hundreds of millions of dollars. And precious time has been lost —and Navy still does not have the modern fighter it requires.

Surprise Ticket

By REP. GEORGE BUSH (R.-Tex.)

Regarding President Johnson's personal plans, it is too early to fully assess the total impact of his decision on the November elections. I would not expect the President to remain on the sidelines, however. Therefore, I think we can expect to see some surprising new entries in the Democratic race for the nomination. For example, a Humphrey-Connally [governor of Texas] ticket might be a real possibility.

Viet Nam Draft Ages

By REP. JOHN G. TOWER (R.-Tex.)

I have heard it implied recently that while America drafts 18 and 19-year-olds, South Viet Nam does not. Let's get those facts straight: South Viet Nam not only is drafting physically fit 19-year-olds, but will by May 1 have all of them in the armed services. Then South Viet Nam will begin drafting 18-year-olds.

It must also be understood that under the Oriental method of computing age a South Vietnamese is one year older on New Year's Day regardless of what day of the year he was born. Because of this, many South Vietnamese men subject to the draft are physically younger—by up to a year—than their chronological age as listed by Western standards.

Thus the drafting of 18 or 19-year-old South Vietnamese often is the equivalent of drafting 17 and 18-year-old Americans.

The facts of the draft are, then, not that South Viet Nam is doing less than the United States, but that she is doing more.

Happy Foolishness

By REP. MARK ANDREWS (R.-N.D.)

The U.S. Public Health Service has completed a survey on happiness which certainly must be a classic example of the type of federal spending that the taxpayers can do without. The study, conducted as part of a $249,000 package of Public Health Service projects in Puerto Rico, involved interviews with 1,500 people to see "what made them happy." Here is some of the "startling" information they came up with: • People who think positively are happier than negative thinkers. • People who make more money are happier than people who make less. • Young people are happier than older people. • Healthy people are happier than people who are ill. I think we would all be much happier if our government would quit wasting money on this kind of foolishness.

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TOTAL TAX COLLECTIONS by federal, state and local governments will total $3,550 for each American family in fiscal 1968, the nonpartisan Tax Foundation disclosed last week. That's a jump of $134 in one year and a 100 per cent increase in the last 12 years.

Promise vs. Performance

Federal Record on Housing Aid

By REP. CHARLES S. GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

There has been a great proliferation of federal programs directed at helping the poor and eliminating racial ghettos. In fact, federal aid to the poor has increased 290 per cent in eight years.

In a related field, here are a few specifics on the federal government's efforts at solving housing problems and also the poverty program in Detroit, the scene of last year's heavy rioting.

President Johnson has outlined seven housing programs designed to produce 300,000 new housing units in the next fiscal year and 26 million units in 10 years. But the famous Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders recently doubled the ante to recommend a crash program to build the same number in five years.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Weaver has frankly called the achievement of this ambitious goal "improbable." In light of past performances on federal housing programs he may be correct. Here is the record.

Promise: Under the Housing Act of 1949 Congress appropriated the money to produce 135,000 public housing units per year with a goal of 810,000 in six years.

What has **Performance** been? Now after almost 20 years only 675,000 units have actually been made available.

Promise: Under the Housing Act of 1965 Congress authorized and appropriated funds for 60,000 low-income housing units per year with a projected total of 240,000 units by 1969.

Performance: In 1967, despite full appropriations by Congress, only 35,000 units had been built per year—a far cry from the 60,000 promised, authorized and financed.

Promise: Since 1965 Congress has appropriated $42 million for the rent supplement program which is designed to provide housing for low-income persons.

Performance: Only $89,019 of the $42 million has been paid to 1,663 rent supplement housing units. Significantly, 1,309 of these units were constructed by churches and non-profit groups as housing for the elderly and, in a bookkeeping transaction, were transferred at a later date to the rent supplement program. Therefore, only 354 housing units have actually been provided under the rent supplement program.

Promise: The "War on Poverty" was started to help the poor everywhere and particularly in big cities like Detroit.

Performance: A special committee of the Michigan Legislature composed of a majority of Democrats headed by Rep. James Del Rio (D.-Detroit) has reported on Detroit's poverty program. The Democratic-controlled committee said: "One of the most serious frauds one can commit upon the poor is to promise something you do not or cannot deliver. The receipts and disbursements for 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 fiscal years reveal the same picture. *There is so little money left for the poor after salaries and fixed overhead that one can no longer refer to this fact as an irregularity—one must call it what it is—a fraud.*"

Such reports on existing programs to help the poor cause me to repeat the question I have asked before: "I wonder if this nation isn't promising more than it can deliver?"

Congress Should Look Into SPIN

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

The Senate and House committees now studying the uses and abuses of LSD might do well to take a look at a strange group that has been set up within the "Neo-American Church." Highly informed sources have recently confirmed to the writer the fact that the Neo-American Church, an outgrowth of Dr. Timothy Leary's League for Spiritual Discovery (LSD), has developed a secret enforcement branch that has administered huge quantities of LSD-type drugs to supposed "undercover agents." These men have then had to be committed to mental institutions where they are still incoherent.

Formed two years ago, the Neo-American Church now claims some three hundred "churches" throughout the United States, with headquarters in Milbrook, N.Y. The chief priest, or "Boo-Hoo" of the church has stated that "we cannot practice our religion without the sacraments of our religion, which are the psychedelic substances."

Taking a page from both the Communists and the Mafia, the Neo-American Church has recently developed its own paramilitary or disciplinary arm, an ultra-secret, highly controlled group called SPIN—the Society for the Prevention of Injustice to Neo-Americans.

According to one of the church leaders, "SPIN is the church's secret non-organization; it takes care of informers, for one thing. It is described in our handbook, and that is all that I know about it. I know very little about SPIN, and I'm one of the top people. It is responsible only to [the Chief Boo Hoo]. There are no communications between the Boo Hoos and SPIN. The reason that I know nothing about it is that I don't need to know about it. . . . SPIN is a non-organization on purpose."

Here is what SPIN does, according to a Boo Hoo: "It gives DMSOSTP or DMT [powerful psychedelic drugs] to informers, police, etc., and from these they never come back. SPIN is something we call in only if we have to. Most Boo Hoos disapprove on moral principles. As long as we are busted [arrested] legally, it is part of the game and we accept the consequences. SPIN is for when they get out of the pattern of legal arrests. Part of the measure is to protect ourselves against illegal harassment."

Some weeks ago, the chief Boo Hoo of Boston visited Washington, D.C., where he told a small group of interested people that SPIN in Boston had detected a "police agent" in their midst and had dealt with him according to the rules of the church. According to this Boo Hoo, the "agent" was taken to a room where he was tied to a chair and then had 5,000 micrograms of LSD shot into his veins. This is 10 to 20 times larger than the usual dose. The "agent" is still in a hospital suffering from severe psychological damage and there is some concern that he may never fully recover.

Although the various law enforcement agencies involved in narcotics control are understandably reticent to discuss the activities of SPIN, it has now been established from reliable sources that the case in Boston is true.

This writer has recently come across a new psychedelic drug being pushed across the country. Although relatively little is known about it, this new psychedelic is by far the most dangerous of its type yet known. Called the "peace pill" or the "peacemaker," it is being given free of charge to the unwary in some cities, notably San Francisco and Washington.

The chemical effects of LSD on the brain are thought to be complete in two minutes and the direct "high" gained from the drug usually lasts from eight to 12 hours, although much longer effects have often been noted. The "peace pill," on the other hand, has a "time life" in the taker's system of two weeks and produces a psychedelic state of at least that duration. This writer has met one young person who took the "peacemaker" and after three weeks had not yet come down from its effect. Even the drugs usually used to combat the effects of LSD on a person will not work on the "peace pill." The reader can only imagine the terror of the young person I met who had taken the "peacemaker" and could not come back to reality.

Now that Congress is considering various new laws concerning the possession and sale of illegal drugs it would do well to include the "peace pill" in its legislation and to begin an intensive investigation of SPIN and the Neo-American Church.

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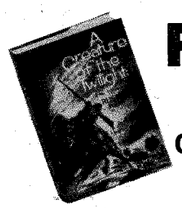

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